

THE FOUR CULTURAL PROBLEMS OF TECHNICALLY ADVANCED COUNTRIES

RICHARD HOGGART

'It is today, as much as ever it was, a critique'

So long as there is not another major war or economic collapse, four cultural problems are likely to be crucial in the internal development of the technologically advanced, densely populated and commercial Western societies during the next few decades. They should form the background to all thought on the scope and purpose of adult education. These problems are: the weakening of local centres, whether in small and class-stratified provincial towns or in the homogeneous working-class areas of industrial cities; the changing outlook of the now literate majority of 'working people'; the use of increasing leisure; and the use and misuse of the media of mass communication.

The four problems are interrelated and proliferate into a number of more specific questions. Will increasing automation, whilst making much work less burdensome, also mean that for a certain period there will be groups of people for whom the new industries can find no place? What will happen to the texture of social groups some of whose members have been 'creamed off' by the needs of technological societies? What kind of culture will societies, centralized for the dissemination of ideas and organizing recreation as well as for production, be likely to offer the mass of their members? Is there a danger of a new class-formulation, not according to birth or money, but into a large group of consumers and a very small group of dissidents?

The British *1919 Report*, which considered the purposes of adult education immediately after the First World War, has recently been republished. Its depth, firmness and clarity offer a chastening contrast with our present confusions. We are left suspecting that there were giants in those days, but also, perhaps, wondering whether their problems were not a little plainer to see. Half a century ago, adult education gained much of its energy from the clear interaction between high moral purposes and evident social needs. But we are living in the second main cultural phase of our emerging democracies. Since life throws up new dangers as old ones are mitigated, we find ourselves concerned with the problems of a life which is in many ways obviously improved, and with the problems of what are the best uses of literacy and leisure. We might take heart that the challenge presented to us is a difficult one. We must try to assess the risks to inner freedom arising from the interaction of greater social freedom, economic plenty and centralized persuasion.

In a brief introduction one can make only general observations on some of the main areas which demand fresh attention.

As a preamble to our work, though not necessarily directly related to its practice, we need a wider and closer knowledge of the quality of 'ordinary' people's lives and recreations. Our view has tended to be somewhat drab and paternalistic. If we learn to appreciate the value of activities rather different from those we are used to approving, we may well see unsuspected resilience and possibilities for growth. But this has to be a discriminating appreciation or it may become something worse than our present narrowness—and individual intellectual cultural slumming.

We can reasonably assume that it is possible to work towards a decent and fairly widespread general culture in mass societies: not the traditional European high bourgeois culture most of us were born into or acquired, nor a middle-brow culture-acquaintance, nor yet the consumers' glossy unrooted culture which could emerge from the free play of commercial forces. Though we may not be able to define the nature of such a

culture in advance, we can begin to move towards it in all kinds of day-to-day decisions.

The mass media can do much to widen and stimulate, and may assist the emergence of an informed democracy. This activity, and many other recent educational improvements, take away almost all the grounds for seriously considering adult education as now primarily remedial or compensatory. But the mass media can do little more than stimulate, and this is where adult education begins to find its present relevance. This relevance is immensely strengthened when one adds that in general the tendencies of centralized and commercial mass media are towards stereotyping, over-simplification, an indulgence in emotionalism for its own sake and the escape from history or choice.

What, then, is the focus for adult education? Is it a 'service' or a 'critique'? Some services it may certainly perform, but in the last resort these are marginal. Fundamentally it is today, as much as ever it was, a critique. One of the greatest dangers to the democracies at present is that the serious and informed minority of active amateurs may lose their force and purpose. Here is where pre-eminently adult education finds its contemporary justification. It has to be tough and intransigent. It is a quality product and must not succumb to the head-counting fallacy and feel guilty about its small audiences. The socratic dialogue has to be kept alive and the democratic audience at least in part fragmented rather than centralized.

But we do not have to think in terms of a cult. Two considerations should encourage us here. First, that the 'active informed minority' has both increased in size (in Great Britain it has risen from about 2 per cent to about 4 per cent of the population during the last forty years), and is now more than ever spread through all the remaining class divisions of society. Second, we may take heart from the fact that almost everyone is at some time not a member of the remaining 96 per cent block audience, but among the serious, the concerned and the questioning.

ADULT EDUCATION

PAUL LENGRAND

'To create an atmosphere of intellectual curiosity, social freedom and tolerance'

INTRODUCTION

Not until a comparatively recent period of our history did the need of education for adults come to be realized. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century the universally accepted view was that each individual life consisted of two periods, of very unequal duration. During the first period, extending from birth to an age determined, broadly speaking, by the resources at the community's disposal, the individual was assumed to be receiving a training which would equip him with the knowledge, ideas and standards of behaviour he would require to carry out the tasks and undertake the responsibilities involved in every human existence. At a given moment, which varied from one community to another, this introductory phase was considered to have terminated, and the individual entered upon the second period of his life—that of adulthood. The transition was emphasized by a series of rites, marking the decisive break with childhood and adolescence; a man took on his adult dress and status at the conclusion of his period of apprenticeship.

In actual fact, this distinction has never been a hard-and-fast one. Children do not always wait to complete their period of initiation before entering upon serious life. And

adults—at least the minority which does not sink into premature slumber on the ‘soft pillow of habit’—continue to study and to advance along the roads leading to greater knowledge and wisdom. But the division between the two ages of life is reflected in the structure of our educational systems. Adult education used to be spontaneous and unsystematic. It was a matter of the initiative, intuition and energy of any and every individual who wanted to keep his mind alive. He was not assisted in his search for knowledge by institutions adapted to his needs or by the guidance of a planned curriculum; nor were his efforts facilitated by specially devised methods. Every adult was to all intents and purposes self-taught. The educational work of the churches was the sole exception to this rule. The Sunday sermon for the congregation as a whole, the evangelical missions and retreats for laymen, were steady and systematic forms of training, even if their purpose—the edification of souls—was not, strictly speaking and in all circumstances, educational.

About a century ago, however, the concept of education entered upon a new phase. Around the year 1850, people began to realize—first in certain small circles, and then more and more generally—that education could not be confined to children and adolescents. Education was thus extended, deepened and made more specific. The adult education curriculum results from the convergence of a number of forces and trends of thought, a more thorough consideration of the nature and content of the educational process being of outstanding importance in this development. In conformity with its etymology, the word education has ceased to apply merely to the curricula of schools, colleges and universities, and now covers any effort intended to promote intellectual, moral or spiritual progress.

The scholastic and scholarly concept of education has been widened to take in the whole development of the personality, through its manifold experiences and at successive ages. As a result, those responsible for adult education have been gradually led to create institutions where the educational process becomes a matter of human relations. Methods have been worked out which extend, utilize and supplement the interchanges and experiences of daily life.

WHAT IS THE DEFINITION OF ADULT EDUCATION?

In Terms of its Public

Age. Adult education is intended for all the inhabitants of a country who are above school age. That age depends, of course, to a great extent upon the laws governing the education of children and young people in the country concerned, and upon custom. In certain regions, young people are swept up early into social and economic activity, and may thus be regarded, from the educational standpoint, as adults. Elsewhere, adolescence continues until comparatively late in life, and is then a matter for special curricula, linked up with the work of youth movements and institutions.

Levels of culture. Adult education developed in the first place in countries where the majority of the population could read and where non-governmental associations were a firmly established tradition. Its curricula and methods were worked out in the light of these circumstances. As a natural consequence, the first theorists in the field of adult education drew up restrictive definitions which reflected the circumstances prevailing in the Scandinavian and English-speaking countries. The terms primary education and secondary education have the same meaning everywhere, whereas in the case of adult education we have the paradoxical fact that the term relates to programmes carried out in some parts of the world but quite unknown elsewhere. When responsible circles in countries differing in their organization and circumstances came to introduce adult education in their territories, the theorists who initiated it felt a sharp distinction to be necessary between activities which had become traditional and the work undertaken

in the so-called underdeveloped countries. The term 'fundamental education' was adopted to express the difference of level between the two systems. It is by no means certain that this distinction should be maintained indefinitely. It assumes the existence of two categories of public, differentiated by a characteristic which is merely formal—their period of school attendance—and lays insufficient stress on the fundamental unity of the educational process, whose aims are everywhere identical and which, despite the tremendous diversity of curricula, uses the same methods throughout. It would seem advisable henceforth to make use of the one term, 'adult education' to indicate all the educational problems of adults, regardless of the degree of technical and cultural development of the community concerned.

In Terms of its Aims and Content

The whole purpose of adult education is to satisfy in all their manifold forms, the cultural needs of men and women (both as individuals and as members of a community). This means that the curricula and activities of the responsible movements and institutions must vary considerably in order to satisfy the special needs of individuals and of social and national groups; they must also take account of the relative urgency and importance of the problems to be solved. In one country the chief aim may be to train responsible staff for industry and labour organizations, while another may have a practically illiterate population which must be taught to read and write. Both these classes of problem may, of course, exist side by side.

It is, however, possible to isolate and bring to the fore a number of problems whose implications are equally acute for all adults at the present day.

Every branch of education must allow for the capacities and requirements of those whom it is to benefit; but this is particularly true of adult education. This type of education is freely sought by those for whom it is intended; it can therefore attract and hold their interest only by satisfying their spiritual, social, intellectual or material needs. Those needs are manifold and varied; not only are there differences due to age, sex, background or occupation, but the individual does not live alone, or for himself alone; he belongs to groups—family, economic, social, national—to which he has duties. A democratic education must establish a just balance between the individual's right to a personal, free and human existence, and his duties to the groups to which he belongs. Thus, the task of adult education is to impart to individuals the knowledge they require for the performance of their economic, social and political functions, above all to enable them to take part in the life of their community and so to attain a fuller and more harmonious mode of life. Accordingly, training rather than teaching is the purpose of adult education; it aims at creating a climate of intellectual curiosity, social freedom and tolerance, at awakening in every individual the need and the ability to play an active part in the development of the cultural life of his period.

Economic, social and political training are the preponderating aims of adult education. Such training must be based on the pupil's daily occupations, but the fact that every adult's main anxiety is to improve his material and moral circumstances must not be lost to sight. It must also be remembered that such training demands full freedom of expression.

Science should, so far as possible, be included in adult education, in order to promote the development of a scientific attitude towards the problems of personal and social life, and to illustrate and explain the social effects of science. In present circumstances two subjects are particularly topical—the food supply of mankind, and the peaceful utilization of atomic energy.

The arts are of paramount importance in adult education. Artistic expression, whether in the form of appreciation or of creation, is essential to the development of a balanced personality. Moreover, the arts constitute an international language which can make an outstanding contribution to mutual understanding between nations and civilizations.

A balanced educational system must have its share of recreational activities. The community of adult pupils will be greatly encouraged by the provision of attractive premises adequately equipped for enjoyable relaxation, which may take the form of singing, listening to music, film shows, social evenings, dances, games—particularly sports—community meals, etc. To these may be added excursions, sightseeing, travelling and correspondence with other countries. These activities are restful, and they help to hold the group together by strengthening, in shared enjoyment, the friendships formed among its members.

The population of a region where adult education is less advanced is faced in planning its curricula with the same problems as those which confront areas where it is more highly developed. The differences between the two are of degree rather than of kind. Whatever their level of previous education, the people have to cope with vocational, civic, socio-economic, cultural and other problems. It must be remembered that a still illiterate population may learn a great deal from exhibitions, films, filmstrips or pictures, from broadcasts, individual talks, discussion groups, and other methods which do not involve reading. Where education is at a rudimentary stage, there is no need to wait until the people have learnt to read before introducing a practical plan of adult education, with a predetermined programme.

Where the proportion of illiteracy is high, large-scale campaigns should be organized, employing all the available educational resources of the country and enlisting the help of private organizations as well as government services. A number of countries (e.g., Brazil, Mexico and Uruguay) offer examples and models of such campaigns, which have taught millions of their inhabitants to acquire those two great instruments of culture, reading and writing.

INSTITUTIONS

The task of establishing new types of institutions is still unfinished, and as is only natural, earlier educational methods continue to exert a considerable influence. Moreover, the nature and role of these institutions vary in accordance with the cultural traditions of the individual countries.

Universities

The traditional type of university is not suitable for adult education. It is the apex of the educational system; it trains students for the highest branches of social, technical, administrative or political work, and serves as a laboratory for scientific research. It can thus contribute little to adult education, whose aims lie in a different direction. Indeed, in most countries, the universities and popular culture are not on speaking terms. The division between them is perpetuated by the instinctive and avowed mistrust prevailing in many political circles which, in the name of class warfare and ideological conflict, stigmatize the universities as the strongholds and instruments of a hostile, bourgeois culture, which they declare to be the preserver and apologist of the established order. In their view, the mass of the people must be protected from the corrupting influences of this environment.

In some countries, however, especially in the English-speaking lands, where ideological conflicts are less acute, the universities have gradually come to play a different part in the national community. Ceasing to be regarded as class institutions, they are seen to be at the service of society as a whole. The strictly traditional features already mentioned have been supplemented by new and increasingly important functions. In the course of an historical development originating towards the end of the nineteenth century, the British universities and the workers' movement have drawn closer together, to their mutual benefit. Thanks to the activities of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA), over 80,000 adults are at present receiving an education presenting the

same guarantees as to its worth and reaching the same high level of scientific investigation as are traditionally associated with university teaching. The same is true of the United States of America, and of most countries or territories where British influence prevails. In addition to their ordinary educational services, most English-speaking universities have a department which specializes in the education of the general public—extra-mural education, extension services, etc. Although these achievements are followed with close attention in most of the circles concerned, the universities of other countries, with few exceptions, have so far shown themselves reluctant to change their conception of their educational duty to the community.

People's Universities

Although the universities, as institutions, have shown little interest in the education of the general population, many teachers, at all levels of education, prompted by a sense of justice or by philanthropic or political consideration, have felt it their duty to put their knowledge and ability at the service of the people. This movement, which flourished in France and Italy at the beginning of the twentieth century, spread later to the German-speaking countries. Germany, Austria and German-speaking Switzerland have numerous People's Universities (*Volkshochschulen*) which do much to popularize literature, art and science, particularly among the middle classes. The majority of these institutions are run by the local government authorities; premises are rented and teachers paid by local grants.

Study Circles

The Scandinavian countries have developed a special form of People's University, in which study circles strive to satisfy the public's intellectual curiosity and thirst for instruction, through a series of educational programmes outside the usual working hours. Actual teaching is, however, reduced to a minimum. Organized lectures and courses are restricted in order to leave more time for personal contributions from the participants. The chief method of education in study circles is the exchange of experience by means of discussion, one of their principal aims being to establish intellectual and social contact between members of the community kept apart by the circumstances of daily life. Study circles occupy a considerable place in the social and cultural life of the Scandinavian countries, where they are one of the most important and characteristic experiments. Sweden, for instance, has about 45,000 circles, generously subsidized by the State, and attended by some 475,000 participants, or 13 per cent of the adult population.

Workers' Education

Workers are foremost among the beneficiaries of popular education. There are many reasons for this. In the first place, their need to supplement their education is greater than that of any other category of the population. Most of them have left school very young, and many have never been to school at all. A particularly vigorous educational effort is required to help them to handle the language competently, to deal with abstract concepts, and to master the symbols and references necessary for the adequate expression of their ideas and feelings. Furthermore, owing to present-day trends, under no matter what system of government, more and more workers are called upon to occupy posts and undertake responsibilities of increasing importance and complexity in the social scheme. Systematic preparation is essential to the satisfactory performance of such tasks.

The chief responsibility in this respect rests with the organizations established to defend the social and political interests of the workers: first of all, the trade unions, and, next, the workers' political parties.

Workers' education takes different forms in different countries. In the United Kingdom, as we have already seen, the workers' organizations co-operate with the universities to secure education for an active minority of the working class, if not for the class as a whole. The trade unions also provide financial support to enable a small number of particularly gifted workers to receive a university education at one of the Oxford colleges, Ruskin College.

The People's Universities, too, were founded for the benefit of the workers. But here the experiment failed in its purpose. After some degree of success, the public of the People's Universities, in the Latin and the German-speaking countries alike, was finally reduced almost entirely to members of the middle and lower middle classes. The atmosphere prevailing in these institutions, the methods and the terminology employed there, are not adapted to the capacities, the intellectual level or the interests of the workers.

In the United States of America, the U.S.S.R. and the majority of the People's Democracies, the upper ranks of the workers' movement are trained in institutions which take a limited and restrictive view of workers' education: the curricula exclude subjects of general cultural interest, such as literature, art and science, and concentrate on matters directly connected with the activities of the workers as producers and members of social and economic bodies; the subjects taught, in most cases, are political economy, factory economy, book-keeping and accountancy, labour legislation and social legislation.

Cultural Centres and Clubs

Parallel with and in addition to strictly educational activities and preparation for responsible posts in workers' organizations, there are innumerable cultural aspirations and needs of a general character which in society, as at present organized, cannot be satisfied at all or can only be partially satisfied. These needs are of the most varied description and range from the performance of music and artistic creation to reading, theatricals, games, conversation and debating.

The loneliness, the lack of mutual intercourse and of resources from which the greater part of mankind suffers, can be compensated only by enterprises of a community type aimed at bringing isolated individuals together, and putting suitable cultural facilities at their disposal. The needs are so much greater than the present means of satisfying them that no institution can as yet claim to have fully achieved this aim. But in various parts of the world institutions already exist which are striving to find at least a partial solution to the problem of cultural leisure. These are the Houses of Culture, Community Centres, Youth Clubs, Rural Institutes, etc.

A typical cultural club aims at uniting and combining the various aspects of cultural education—teaching, reading, theatricals, recreation, games, discussion groups. For this purpose it has spacious premises to enable a sufficiently large audience to attend the presentation of plays or films, lectures, debates, etc. The house (or club) should be planned in such a way that small groups can also meet for work or discussion. The club usually has a library where, in addition to works of reference and light reading, members can find newspapers and reviews representing the principal views and trends existing in their country. The club should also be equipped, so far as possible, to allow scope for the pursuit of artistic activities and crafts, ranging from choral singing and studios for painting or modelling to biological laboratories. Games, pastimes, social evenings and parties will find a natural place in these institutions, which should promote the development of social relations and the community spirit, as well as the expression of individual capacities and talents. The ideal House of Culture should offer a well-balanced combination of these different cultural activities, which will supplement and reinforce one another. But financial resources and qualified staff are insufficient for the requirements. In most cases, even in the best organized and equipped Houses of Culture, and despite

the excellent service they render, these needs are satisfied only imperfectly and intermittently.

Clubs

Clubs of the traditional sort, which have an exclusive membership limited to people of the same social position, are seldom educational in character. But in the last twenty or thirty years a new type of club has emerged, one that aims specifically at furthering the education and the cultural development of its members. The English-speaking countries, for instance, have women's clubs many of which are intended to encourage reading. These clubs meet to consider practical problems in the life of the community or to study some national or international issue; papers are read and accounts given of travels and literature. These clubs make a very valuable contribution to cultural activity in the circles where they exist.

The most interesting achievements in this field, however, are those which bring together people who make use of modern, large-scale media for the diffusion of culture—mainly films, radio and television. To counteract the decline of the critical spirit and the deterioration in taste which almost inevitably result from a passive and indiscriminating use of such techniques, attempts have been made to discover means of utilizing the creative possibilities of these instruments of culture, chiefly by inducing active attitudes in place of the usual, widespread passivity. This has led to the establishment in many countries of film clubs, associations of listeners to broadcasts, and tele-clubs. The members of these clubs come together to view showings of the better class of films, or, if their interest lies in the direction of broadcasting or television, to listen in organized parties to interesting programmes. Such events provide an opportunity, sometimes a motive, for discussion of the social, political or aesthetic content of the programmes and of their quality. The effectiveness of these clubs, of course, largely depends on the ability and experience of their leaders; but it can already be said that they have done much to educate the taste and arouse the critical sense of those who use the media of mass communication and recreation.

Residential Colleges and Schools

The broad educational activity developed by the above-mentioned associations is sometimes supplemented and reinforced by more concentrated, systematic action, undertaken by institutions where adults are able to spend a few days or weeks, or even, in some cases, several months. Everyone obviously benefits by being released, for a fixed and limited period, from material anxieties and the cares of family and job, and enabled to devote himself entirely to study. He then has time to make use of his intellectual abilities. He can take up the study of a particular problem or situation with the necessary seriousness, concentration and continuity. He can develop a method of work and receive guidance in his researches. Human relationships are thus intensified in a way hardly possible in the circumstances of everyday life. Moreover, such institutions, when well organized and managed, may introduce their residents to a style of living and a quality of human relations which are among the most valuable experiences they have to offer.

Scandinavia is celebrated in all expert circles for its People's Colleges, the earliest of which were established in the first half of the nineteenth century. A large proportion of the younger peasants in the Scandinavian countries, after a few years of ordinary employment, are admitted for several months to these colleges, where they receive a supplementary training which fits them both for their job and for their responsibilities as citizens. The curriculum includes national history, economics, literature, choral singing, gymnastics, and instrumental music.

The aspect and orientation of these colleges show considerable diversity, each being influenced by the religious, spiritual or political atmosphere of its environment, and by the personality of its director.

In many countries, political, trade union or religious organizations have colleges, institutes or educational centres where the leaders come to complete their training and receive guidance. Even allowing for the inevitable touches of propaganda it cannot be denied that such institutions make a vital contribution to the education of the adults who attend them.

Certain countries, among them France, have set up national and regional educational centres to train staff for organizations engaged in adult education. The State provides space for seminars, instructors and teaching materials. It also pays a considerable proportion of the cost of travel and board. This method maintains a skilful balance between State initiative and the legitimate desire of the non-governmental organizations for independence.

METHODS EVALUATION

Choice of methods and ability to make use of them are of particular importance in the education of adults. For the only adults who turn to education are those who feel attracted, want to begin and intend to persevere. If the methods employed are unsuitable, if they fail to arouse and maintain the interest of the audience, the consequences are soon visible—the adult pupil tires, becomes bored, and quickly gives up. Unsatisfactory results also attend the use of obsolete methods of education which aim at conveying encyclopaedic knowledge rather than cultivating judgement. Such methods are apt to turn those who embark upon adult education into frustrated pedants, attracted by learning but incapable of mastering scientific techniques.

Adult education, as the youngest among educational processes, naturally inherited methods which were formed and became set during past centuries and which have survived until today. With a few exceptions, the most important of which is the Danish People's Colleges, the originators of adult education outside the standard framework of school, college or university adopted methods familiar to them, consisting chiefly of classes and lectures.

It seemed perfectly natural for those who possessed knowledge to convey it to those who were in ignorance, through the medium of words. Only gradually, after repeated setbacks and much cogitation as to their cause, did educators begin to doubt the effectiveness of traditional methods of teaching. The teacher-pupil connexion was then replaced by other relationships, better suited to adult psychology and behaviour. Methods were tested and perfected for enabling adults in search of instruction to obtain it in an active manner, by drawing upon the inexhaustible reserves of their experience as men, producers and citizens, instead of passively imbibing various literary or scientific subjects. A real educational revolution is now taking place, and its effects are bound in the long run to have repercussions on teaching methods in general. The teacher of adults is devoting more and more attention to developing habits of thought and emotional and social attitudes in the individuals under his care, helping them to think and to communicate with others, rather than cramming them with knowledge.

The methods most widely adopted in adult education may be classified as follows.

Courses, lectures and lessons. As has already been said, the traditional forms of oral teaching still predominate in the majority of adult education courses. Classes and lectures offer the most convenient means of describing a situation or presenting the facts of a problem. These established techniques will remain important on condition that they are integrated into a general educational plan requiring the active participation of students.

Discussions. Adult education programmes lay ever-increasing stress on the value and necessity of establishing links between the experience and situation of every individual, circle and social group. Discussions are at present the most suitable medium for this type of exchange. But if discussion is to have effective educational value, it must not be

mere conversation. The constant exchange of information, ideas, tastes, opinions, anecdotes and comments which make up the web of social relations, rarely goes beyond a kind of gossip which is not always even agreeable. If such exchanges are to enable each participant to test the soundness and value of his knowledge or opinions by comparing his ideas with those of others, the method chosen must be one which transforms casual, disjointed conversation into a well-regulated, methodical debate. Discussion then ceases to be a mere social diversion and becomes an educational instrument of the first quality.

The various specialized movements, particularly in the Scandinavian and English-speaking countries, have, in the course of long experience, gradually built up rules and formulae for the harmonious and orderly development of discussions, with the active participation of all those present.

It has been found that, generally speaking, a discussion has the best prospect of achieving its aims if it takes place in a small group of not less than half-a-dozen and not more than about twenty members—the ideal number being from 12 to 15. Considerable attention has been given to the practical organization of debates—the best use of each individual in the group, methods of ensuring that the discussion shall not degenerate into barren controversy or an opportunity for a few dominating personalities to air their views. Experience has also indicated the best ways of introducing the subject of discussion and keeping it in circulation among the group.

Much work now being done on classification and definition in the United States of America makes it possible to present a systematic schedule of the types of discussion most suitable for a particular situation or subject. A careful distinction has been drawn between the 'forum' (a lecture followed by discussion), the 'panel discussion' (a discussion following upon a debate between a few experts) the 'buzz session' (division of a meeting into small groups each of which appoints a rapporteur), etc. Such classifications are of undeniable though limited interest. Any educator who knows his target and is familiar with his public will be able to evolve the working methods and organization most likely to ensure a useful, well-conducted and instructive discussion.

In certain countries, particularly France, systematic methods of mental training have been devised to stimulate the spirit of criticism and increase each individual's contribution to the work of the group by developing the capacity for self-expression and the ability to persevere with an intellectual task.

Audio-visual methods. The extension of the means of communication and recreation made available to individuals and to the general public by modern technology and industry accounts for one of the chief problems with which adult education has to deal. It has to combat certain deplorable effects upon the mental and emotional balance of audiences produced by broadcasting, cinema and television. As we have already seen, some institutions have been set up to meet this situation and to make the fullest use of the cultural aspects of these new methods of communication. It is now generally recognized that teachers must learn to master the capacities of pictorial representation which, as a vehicle of knowledge, an instrument of psychological shock tactics and a means of persuasion, occupies a place of increasing importance in the structure of civilization.

Evaluation. Teachers of adults will naturally be interested in the changes which occur in the awareness and the behaviour of individuals and in the habits of the group. They will not confine themselves to introducing their audience to works of art and the products of science. But the extent to which attitudes alter or persist will guide them in judging whether their work is having satisfactory results. For a long time there were no means of assessing the extent of such results. The teacher had to make the best of imprecise estimates and entirely subjective judgements. To counteract these empirical methods, which retard the progress of popular education, educational experts in different parts of the world are striving to establish standards in the light of which judgements can be made and evaluation techniques developed. A sociology of leisure is now being worked

out, with the aim of analysing the behaviour and occupations of different social classes outside working hours and co-ordinating methods for investigating and checking results. The application of these methods will undoubtedly be of great service to those responsible for popular education.

THE NATURE AND ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION

E. M. HUTCHINSON

'Organized opportunities and voluntary engagement'

It is thirty years since I first encountered the words 'adult education' as a young student in a Workers' Educational Association class. It did not then occur to me that they could be used to describe any other experience. Today, I am still sure that this was indeed adult education but I am just as sure that it was only one of many kinds of experience to which the words properly apply. I now know that there can be no fruitful discussion about adult education if the term is pre-empted to describe the activities of particular organizations or if its application is restricted to special categories of people.

One acknowledges, of course, that certain organizations in particular historical contexts have been regarded as the most characteristic agents of adult education in their own societies. The words cannot be used in the United Kingdom without bringing to mind the Workers' Educational Association and University Tutorial Classes, in Denmark without conjuring up pictures of Folk High Schools, or in Germany without reference to the *Volkshochschulen*. A little over a century ago, the reference in Britain would have been to Mechanics Institutes and, today, one does not have to pursue inquiries very deeply to find, amongst many other important activities, workers' education in Denmark, residential centres in England, or university activity in Göttingen or Kiel or to find that the promoters of these things may see themselves as new and progressive elements somewhat hampered by the too broad assumptions of the traditional adult education bodies. Clearly the 'nature and role' of adult education cannot be defined by reference to the work of any single organization, and indeed at this time there seems to be evidence that established patterns are undergoing substantial changes and that new forces are emerging in adult education in many countries. If so, it is well that we should be critically aware of such development.

What then, for the purpose of this argument, do I mean by 'adult education'? I see that at the time of the Elsinore Conference in 1949, I was bold enough to use the rather categorical terms which follow: 'Adult education is taken to mean those forms of education which are undertaken voluntarily by mature people (in the United Kingdom meaning persons above the age of 18) and which have as their aim the development, without *direct* regard to their vocational value, of personal abilities and aptitudes, and the encouragement of social, moral and intellectual responsibility within the framework of local, national and world citizenship. As used both in the United Kingdom, and e.g. in the Scandinavian countries, the term presupposes a general standard of literacy resulting from compulsory childhood education.'

I remember being pleased and flattered when Johannes Novrup, in a plenary session, accepted these words as fairly descriptive of Danish attitudes and they have been widely quoted since. I would not, however, use them so glibly today: I find them too schematic and too heavily impregnated with a specifically British attitude to be serviceable in an

international context and I have come to use as a substitute, the briefer formula: 'Organized opportunities for men and women to enlarge and interpret their own living experience.' These are simple words but they embrace two fundamental ideas: (a) the restriction of 'adult education' to organized activities as distinct from cultural diffusion through, e.g. general reading, theatre and concert going, press, radio, TV, advertising, and the daily contacts of work and home;¹ (b) the emphasis on voluntary engagement—on opportunities, not on duties, and on *self*-enlargement and *self*-interpretation.

The first of these enables us to narrow an otherwise impossibly wide field of reference, without of course denying that music, films, radio and TV can be used directly in the service of education; and the second, by concentrating firmly on the individual personality, saves us from talking vaguely about mystic benefits to states, nations, communities, workers, women or other plural abstractions. As long as we are thinking about something done by people for themselves and of the necessary arrangements, including co-operative arrangements, to permit them to do it and to secure guidance and teaching for them, we shall not confuse propaganda for causes, even good causes, with education.

I speak also of 'men' and 'women' and I mean people who in their respective communities are old enough to marry, vote and fight—people, that is, who are in general beyond the age of adolescent dependence and who, whether they like it or not, must largely accept responsibility for their own lives and actions. The educational needs and interests of younger people who have not yet achieved this kind of independence are, in my view, different and should not be confused with those of adults. True, there is important work on the border line, but some of the criticism in Britain of Danish Folk High Schools arises from expecting to find the relationships of full adult life in institutions for younger people who are characteristically below the customary age of marriage and civic responsibility. The Dane who knows the British scene avoids confusion by talking about 'the education of young adults' and he is right to point the distinction.

Divested of concern for youth, adult education stands in the main clear of vocational training, but it is profoundly concerned with the human problems which working life entails, including willingness to accept retraining in later life.

Finally, because it makes no prescriptions concerning organization and method and presumes nothing about childhood education, my definition is sufficiently elastic to admit of discussion, within its terms, by people concerned with societies at different stages of economic and social development.

In saying this, I am reminded that I was asked not long ago by an African member of a seminar how he could persuade his countrymen in one of the remoter parts of Nigeria to want adult education. I answered that I did not know but that when they wanted it they would surely tell him. I do not underestimate the role of the prophets, few but formidable in adult education as elsewhere, but a Grundtvig or a Mansbridge achieves his fame because there is a ferment in men's minds that predisposed them to welcome an interpreter able to give words to their inarticulate demands. Such ferments

1. I am indebted to Mr. J. Trneman, BBC Liaison Officer for Further Education, for clarifying my mind on this point. 'It seems important', he writes, 'to distinguish between the transmission of culture and the extension of education. The former, as a gradual enrichment of the climate of thought and behaviour, does take place. The great enlargement of the music-loving public, the wider understanding of economic, social and political truths, the taste for "contemporary" fashions and furnishings, are evidence of cultural change. Despite the resistances of attitude, many ideas, words, forms, fashions, and even accents that radiate from the top (or, more correctly, from the centre, for they are not necessarily the same), seep down through the whole community. Where standards are respected (as in the public library service or in BBC broadcasting), such influences are constructive; others are destructive and degrading, and often reinforce the resistances.' Many of these cultural influences could also be described as educational, but one must recognize the parallel need for an extension of a more thorough knowledge, systematically organized, both specialized and general, the outcome of disciplined, progressive study, which is more properly termed 'education'.

result from the pressure of events which a minority, at least, feel should be capable of being influenced by their own better informed action. When such a demand for education among adults has been formulated, it will be found to concern itself essentially with the springs of human conduct and the nature of relationships in society. It may spread out in many other directions and, for want of other preparation, a demand for the instruments of education—the ability to read and write, access to books and other records, to say nothing of less fundamental but entirely legitimate interests—may have to be met and may even come to obscure the central purpose. But the history of adult education in many countries surely proclaims the truth that supply quickly falters if it is not sustained by conscious demand. One of the most difficult tasks too, is to convert the heat of initial enthusiasm into a powerful and self-renewing demand.

Neither the State nor any subordinate organ of the State ought to be entrusted with this central role in adult education. It is not in the nature of governments (whatever protestations are made in their name), to welcome any apparatus for sustained adult inquiry which, given the nature of human associations, will often concern itself with social and political problems and consequently with State and government, ways which differ greatly from those used by bureaucrats and politicians. I see no escape from the obligation to resort to strong voluntary organizations as essential instruments of adult education, and, since they must exist, governments are faced with an inescapable duty with respect to them.

In Britain, we do not think that duty can be stated better than in the forty-year-old exhortation of the then Master of Balliol College to the Prime Minister of the day: '... the opportunity for adult education should be spread uniformly and systematically over the whole community as a primary obligation on that community, in its own interest and as a chief part of its duty to its individual members and therefore every encouragement and assistance should be given to voluntary organizations so that their work, now necessarily sporadic and disconnected, may be developed and find its proper place in the national educational system'.¹

As yet, the Scandinavian countries are the only ones I know that have come close to accepting this dictum in practice and, no doubt, some colleagues in those countries would regard this as a rosy view of their situation. Nothing of the kind exists in the U.S.A. and most of those with whom I have discussed the matter there, would, I think, deny my premises. Nevertheless, I propose to adhere to my view that the core of adult education lies in fundamental protest evoked by social pressures, and for this reason I can see no starting point except in voluntary association and no guarantees of growth and continuity except in establishing claims for assistance in the form of recognition by State authority and financial assistance from the State.

At this point I imagine that many readers will be ready to remind me impatiently that this is a theoretical construct, that only a small fraction of the work organized by bodies associated with the institute which I serve, for instance, could be described in these terms. What, they will ask, have community centres, music classes and women's craft groups to do with 'fundamental protests' and armed neutrality between governments and voluntary bodies? It is a fair and serious question and I may seem, in contradiction to the claims of my opening paragraphs, to have become unreasonably dogmatic and limited. I do not think so, but the suggestion may serve to point more sharply to a fundamental ambiguity which I have found bedevilling discussions about adult education in many international gatherings during the last 10 years. The English words are capable, in my experience, of many, but specially of two, distinctive usages. In one, 'adult' is an adjective qualifying the noun 'education': it is synonymous with 'mature'—it denotes an education open *only* to the grown man or woman who is daily

1. *Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction*, 1919; republished in 1956 as *A Design for Democracy* (out of print).

aware of responsibilities and inadequacies and who matches experience of life against the report of poet and dramatist, the achievement of artist or composer, or the theories of economists and philosophers. It is what people have in mind when they speak of liberal adult education—and what, more erroneously, they often try to equate with workers' education: it is adult education in the first degree. The second usage treats the two words as a shorthand expression for a longer phrase that might read 'the provision of education for people who are chronologically adult and which may or may not differ in content from the provision made for children'. It embraces a great range of instruction in crafts and skills and facilities for doing together what cannot be done by oneself—play-acting, singing in choirs and the like. It is by far the commoner kind of adult education in all Western communities, whether mixed with or divorced from adult education in the first degree.

In practice it is not easy to obtain a balance between the two in the same institutional framework, probably because those who promote them look differently at life. The militant protestant (the terms having more than a religious connotation) is apt to be scornful about the mere acquisition of skills and graces and to claim a difference not only of degree but of kind between that and an educational commitment which depends on 'the free contact of mind with mind . . .', where all irrelevances are excluded in the intense concentration on a common quest.

Having laboured an apparent antithesis, I hope that I may now indicate how I think it can be resolved, although 'can be' does not necessarily mean 'will be'. I return first to the idea of social pressures and the protest they elicit as generating a demand for adult education. Traditionally these pressures have been associated with political and economic conflicts, the aftermath of external defeat, resentment against colonial status, or against economic exploitation. In Britain, particularly, the industrial revolution produced a society in which political power, economic well-being and social status were correlated very closely with access to education. A revolt against economic and political subordination on the part of those most keenly aware of it meant almost necessarily a revolt against educational privilege. What gave its peculiar character to British adult education in the early twentieth century was the degree to which privilege moved out to embrace and thereby change the character of the revolt itself. This was the essence of Mansbridge's 'marriage of labour and learning' through the establishment of joint committees of the Workers' Educational Association and university representatives to promote and administer the three-year tutorial classes. The consequences have been profound. At the cost of forgoing many of the traditional appurtenances of privilege in the way of material possessions, and of accommodating new elements within the 'élite' leadership—the general council of the TUC, for instance—the structure of British society has been largely maintained as one of hierarchical gradations. Perhaps the most striking fact about the British WEA has been this contribution to political and social stability in an era of revolutionary possibilities. Because it has leaned on the universities, much of their inherent conservatism has passed over into the political reformism with which the WEA has had a symbiotic relationship. 'And yet', writes Professor Waller, 'what nobody could foresee was that social security would be achieved in a dangerous and quite insecure world; that the achievement of so much of the apparatus of the good society should result in so wide and deep a slackening of impulse and endeavour; that the reduction of hours of work should result in "the problem of leisure"; that the fulfilment of so many purposes should end in a general uncertainty of purpose; that we should get so far only to be deeply puzzled.'¹

What is now apparent is that the assiduous study of convenient university disciplines cannot in itself contribute to relieving the new social and psychological pressures which the removal of the grosser forms of exploitation and the more obvious characteristics of

1. *A Design for Democracy*, p. 31.

a divided society has brought into relief. Indeed, many achievements that, as projects of social reform, were the discussion material of adult education forty years ago, have, ironically, produced social problems which cross all the disciplines of study—the failure to generate a sense of community in new towns and on new housing estates; the boredom of leisure arising from shortened working hours and from greatly increased numbers living into a period of funded retirement, the unharnessed energies of women suddenly released from much traditional drudgery, are all examples. Nor, unless the Marxists are right after all, can the problems of ‘workers’ education be what they were two generations ago. The fundamental protest against being treated as less than a man that still generates educational demand in many awakening areas of the world has largely spent its force in Britain and other developed countries. The ordinary worker is not easily to be reached educationally in virtue of his trade union membership; leading elements are more concerned with the technicalities of trade unionism than with general theories of social relationships. And almost tragically the very forms of adult education that aimed at the reduction of privilege have little to offer those who have derived least from an expanded compulsory education.

It is in this situation that adult education of the second degree assumes a new importance. If it is thought of only as filling leisure or as finding people hobbies, as the adult equivalent, perhaps, of ‘keeping them off the streets’, we are indeed, as Vagn Fenger, Principal of the International People’s High School at Elsinore so strongly contends, offering stones to people seeking bread. It is fatally easy for government officials to see the provision of classes in crafts, engagement in music and physical activities, desultory learning of foreign languages, flower arrangement, etc. in these terms: to promote them as harmless and pleasant activities if people wish to indulge in them and will pay for them, but certainly not as meriting support from public funds because they are essential to the national well-being.

Yet it is within all our knowledge that in this last decade of full employment and the blossoming of television, a demand has welled up all over Europe and North America for activities of this kind, as well as for opportunities of more modest reflection on the contemporary predicament than are represented by the traditional British tutorial class or even its commoner and simpler derivatives. It is a demand that seems to spring from new pressures of broken cultural patterns and it is accompanied by a new interest in the relations which people establish with one another as members of groups of all kinds, including the groups of working as well as of civic life and of family, leisure and relaxation. It is the kind of demand that sustains the centres for residential education and the concern of industrial managements for the human education of their executives and employees which are amongst the new features of our time. The onus, in my view, is largely on voluntary organizations, independent universities and business concerns, to study and meet this demand on its own terms and to mediate between it and governments so as to secure proper community provision for it.

To move towards a further widening of the knowledge of choices and the satisfactions attaching to the acceptance of responsibilities that some choices entail, will put a great burden on those who commit themselves professionally to the service of adult education. I say this because, although I stress the role of voluntary associations, both in their own right and in co-operative relation with departments of central or local government, I do not at all propose that promotion and maintenance should be a part-time or occasional chore for voluntary workers. Of course there is a vast deal to be done by such people but the time is past for making a virtue of poverty. Adult education has now to minister to men and women living out their lives in the self-consciousness of change—not occasional and sporadic change brought about by the actions or failures of governments but continuous and accelerating change resulting from a possible growing control of the whole human environment. And we are only too conscious of the abyss that waits to engulf us if we lose control.

It is this factor of self-consciousness—about the lessons of history, about the unforesee-

able but certain practical applications of pure scientific discovery and the consequent changes demanding many adaptations within the short span of human life, about the moral ambivalence of all human beings—that makes a developed profession of adult education not merely something desirable but an absolute necessity of our time. The bodies that have long served adult education in the second degree, the evening class centres, the community groups, the women's movements, must, with new allies in industry and in the arts of popular communication, come to be as sure of the importance of their educational task as the extension and extra-mural departments of universities, the folk high schools, workers' and people's educational associations, and popular universities, have traditionally been. They can none of them do so unless they are served by those who have considered deeply for themselves the nature and role of adult education, and who, distinguished equally from priests and propagandists, are in the same degree professed men and women.

It may be convenient if I end by summarizing my argument as briefly as I can: Adult education is necessarily a voluntary 'demand' activity and people will not seek it without being conscious of need.

A minority demand is generated by the consciousness of economic exploitation or political conflicts which fundamentally affect human status. Because this demand is almost certainly critical of privilege it can only develop through 'self-help' voluntarism, whatever assistance it may ultimately receive from privileged sources—universities or governments. I call this adult education of the first degree.

A wider demand for instruction in personal skills and group activities is a natural product of growth in sensibility and the expansion of leisure. Provision made to meet this demand I call adult education of the second degree.

Adult education may none the less be relevant to new kinds of social and psychological pressures and if it is promoted in suitable settings and with skilled guidance, the terms 'first' and 'second' degree do not imply superior and inferior importance.

Adult education cannot develop as a public service without the executive and financial support of public education authorities. This does not conflict with the need for strong voluntary organizations and independent universities to focus demand and to share responsibility for meeting it, whatever form it may take.

All education is concerned with individuals but social experience is a necessary part of individual development. It follows that adult education is a community and group activity requiring special centres for its full development.

The 'threat of plenty'—new production methods, greater leisure and longer life for more people—makes new demands on adult education to which previous experience with minorities may not be relevant. It increases the need for research into group relations and the educational use of radio and television as well as traditional means of communication, oral and written.

This adds up to an inescapable need for a self-conscious profession of adult education, the membership of which will be dispersed amongst many agencies.

ADULT EDUCATION IN FRANCE

JOSEPH ROVAN

'Enrichment of culture through the people and liberation of the people through culture'

In adult education as in many other spheres of national life, France today finds herself in the position of a country with a rich and honourable past, obliged to adapt itself by bold innovations to swiftly changing circumstances. Although she has had to face the

same crises as other Western European countries, the destruction and migrations entailed by the Second World War left her comparatively unscathed, thanks to the tolerably good general stability she enjoyed, her institutions which, at the dawn of the modern era, could claim to be advanced and well adapted to her social needs, and her great material wealth. General crises affected her more slowly, less directly and less deeply than they did other neighbouring countries, and her awakening to reality and the resultant social and moral cataclysms followed a less rapid rhythm. Since, however, the worst misfortunes always leave a mark of some kind, France is now experiencing indirect effects of the relatively (and very relatively) mild form in which she has suffered, during the last few decades, the ordeals shared by all the countries of Western Europe. These effects are apparent in many fields and take two forms; (a) France finds herself endowed with institutions that have fallen behind the times and are showing signs of age; (b) she has some difficulty in adapting herself to the demands of this modern world.

This situation has been a matter of concern to the French adult education authorities, particularly during the past ten years. Immediately after the war many of them shared with the majority of their compatriots the belief that a rejuvenated and transformed France, very different from that of 1939, would emerge from the perturbations of the war, the Occupation and the Resistance. It was on this transformation, which it was hoped to effect with lightning speed, that most of them worked from 1944 to 1948, though they did not always agree on the changes to be made. Generally speaking, however, it can be claimed, without much danger of contradiction, that the French adult education authorities then believed in the possibility of speedy and effective measures to facilitate access to 'cultural goods', and in the reduction of the barriers standing between so many citizens of both sexes and every form of culture, which, given their varying talents, ought to be well within their reach. (Scarcely 3 per cent of the students in the universities and other establishments of higher education come from working-class families, although the latter represent 30 per cent of the total number of French families.) It seemed clear that such a transformation of the position in society of cultural life would also affect its substance. Close and complex relations exist between a culture and its 'public'; problems of production and consumption arise also—although in rather special terms—in the case of cultural activities. It was anticipated that the sudden and rapid flowering of popular culture and adult education would be both one of the driving forces and one of the principal results of a widespread civic and social renovation. In a period of transition and swift structural changes, when schools and universities themselves have to sweep away their cobwebs and adults are still, culturally speaking, the product of the institutions, methods and ideas which it is hoped to transform, a special responsibility clearly devolves upon the adult education authorities, whose task it is to meet the need of adults to supplement their educational and cultural attainments which because of insufficient schooling and the often outdated methods of the existing system, remain below the desired level.

For reasons which it would be irrelevant to explain in this article, these hopes were dashed and the historical analysis on which they were based proved unsound. The mistake lay, however, not in the belief in the urgency of the need to adapt the country's civic, social and cultural institutions to the realities of the second half of the twentieth century, but in the means employed to that end and in the belief in the ability of men to undertake such tasks. After a period of confusion, the adult education authorities were therefore forced to recognize that the delay in introducing the necessary changes laid a still heavier burden on their own shoulders. In many matters France's difficulties were growing daily more serious, and the anxiety felt by her citizens more acute; as the solution of problems seemed to be receding, the needs of adult education appeared more overwhelming and more urgent. Educators became increasingly aware of the connexion between adult education and the country's social and cultural situation. Through the various phases of its history, adult education in France has always been closely bound up with the progress of democracy in every field. In this sense, it has never been neutral

or uncommitted, and it is impossible to imagine that there could be any point to adult education in France if it were not at the same time education for democracy and an instrument for the safeguarding and extension of democracy. This must of course be qualified by adding that there may be perfectly justified differences of opinion among educators, and among the rest of the population as to the institutions and the machinery of democracy. However, there is little danger of error in claiming that, despite its internal divisions, French adult education regards itself as the branch of the French democratic movement which fights with educational and cultural weapons and whose most immediate aims are the democratization of education and cultural life. The final goal of adult education is thus to enable the maximum number of men and women to fend for themselves as far as possible in all branches of private and public life.

This, then, being the background of the current development of French adult education, it is appropriate to consider, bearing in mind the changes to which modern French society has to adjust itself, the consequent effects on institutions and methods, the scope and substance of education, and the choice and training of leaders.

If France is to survive without being permanently weakened, both morally and materially, by the great sociological and technological changes forced upon her during the second half of the twentieth century, and if she is to succeed in making the adjustments which such changes necessitate, she must have citizens who are more active and alert, workers who are better trained, and large families, of course, but with parents who have learned to recognize their educational responsibilities and are capable of discharging them. Lastly, she must have men and women able to spend, both pleasantly and usefully, the extended hours of leisure available to them as a result of economic and social development. With an element of arbitrariness, but also with some justification, it is considered in France that the second of these requirements—namely, advanced occupational training—is not the direct responsibility of the Department of Adult Education, but rather of another Department of the Ministry of Education, that of Technical and Vocational Training. The other three subjects—civic training, education for family life, and spare-time activities—are strictly within the domain of the Department of Popular or Adult Education. Recently, however, there has been much talk in France about a system of continuous education, under which everyone would have the benefit of educational opportunities in all fields even beyond the age of compulsory schooling (which is, incidentally, being extended), and it is therefore possible that, with this new system, technical and vocational education (which includes certain aspects of general culture) might be reintegrated in a widespread adult education movement covering every side of adult life.

Such a scheme would have a number of major consequences, because, although the education of adolescents and adults in France is an extension of school education, it also differs from the latter in many respects. Those receiving adult education are voluntary pupils and they come to it tired at the end of the day's work or (if they are taking a holiday course) at the end of a year of toil. Special teaching methods therefore have to be devised; these are 'live' and 'indirect', based on the adult's centres of interest and usual spare-time activities; account is taken of the special characteristics of each class or group receiving instruction, and every effort is made to use clear, simple and non-technical language. Active methods are used which encourage pupils of both sexes from the working classes to develop skills, social ability and manners instead of accumulating new knowledge largely irrelevant to their everyday needs and life. The ability to draft a report, to read the paper intelligently, and take part in a discussion between employers and employees; again, the ability to approach a film, television programme or a sporting event with a critical mind, and to detect in these distractions the authors' aims and intentional omissions, such are the goals of realistic and 'active' adult education, goals which in themselves often amount to methods and exercises. Discussion is

a method; to know how to discuss is an end—the first stage on the road to individual and social liberation; it is also a form of character training and almost a branch of metaphysics. The motto of adult education should be 'No more submission'; men and women have to be rescued from passivity—whether cultural or civic; they must be taught to react, to judge for themselves and to resist subjugation to the will of others who have found a powerful and dangerous ally in the media of mass communication (the radio, films, television and the press).

Adult education on these lines represents a tremendous effort to achieve civic, social, technical and cultural integration in a new system of universal education, in a new sort of university, to use that word in its original sense. It means the integration of working-class men and women in a nation composed of enlightened and active citizens, and no longer of a privileged minority superimposed on the masses, who are alternately down-trodden and lethargic or seething with discontent. It means the integration of the trite and stale round of daily life with moments of profound cultural experience. In this way there will no longer be—at least, that should be the aim and dominant idea—any wasted moments or human rejects, outcasts from society and culture. Lastly, it signifies the integration of all peoples of the world, those of the great classical and modern civilizations and those of the so-called underdeveloped areas, in a new progressive human race, combining the traditions of every land in the march towards a common destiny.

Such a conception of adult education—and it is to the credit of those who have been working for three years on a system of continuous education that they have recognized the fact—calls for a tremendous effort in the training of leaders and the choice of institutions and methods. The training of leaders is unquestionably the most important problem, once the basic concept on which methods are to be built up has been determined. In our society, all socio-cultural leaders of either sex are, often unconsciously, adult educators or, to use a term more suitable to the situation in France, adult education leaders. And by way of a corollary we may add: a professional educator is not *ipso facto* qualified to do the job of an adult education leader. Primary teachers, doctors, games instructors, social workers, business managers, directors of agricultural co-operatives, café proprietors, producers of television programmes and journalists all need special training in order that their work may assume its true significance. Otherwise, the activities of these potential educators may very often be anti-educational. Hence the necessity clearly recognized in France (despite the lack of the requisite means) for organizing training courses for leaders and producing special educational material to assist them in their task (books, leaflets, films, radio and television broadcasts, etc.). Often, however, the success of adult education leaders is likely to be the greater the nearer they are by birth to the group with which they are concerned. Between these working-class circles and the spheres in which cultural works are produced, the leader has a dual role as mediator: he is the interpreter and spokesman of his brethren, and he translates for them the cultural productions reaching them 'from above'. He secures for the people an opportunity to take part in the production of works, and for the works themselves he secures their mass public.

The training of such leaders—99 per cent of whom in France are unpaid voluntary workers—is therefore crucial where adult education is concerned. The fact that they are drawn more and more from the ranks of industrial and agricultural workers should be an encouragement to those engaged in training them. But something more is wanted—and here we touch indirectly on the institutional problem—the community in general must facilitate such training. A first decisive step was taken in July 1957 with the passing of a law on special leave for workers' education. Other measures, such as the allocation of training scholarships, both in France and abroad, and the establishment of more training centres with specialized teachers, will have to follow if continuous education is to be made a reality. This training should be at once general and specialized; general,

because it is inconceivable that we should train the nation's socio-cultural leaders without giving them a sound knowledge of current sociological and technological changes as a basis for their future work, and they must therefore receive a basic cultural, civic, aesthetic and economic training such as will enable them at least to follow the main trends in all these fields: specialized, because their work within a definite context and with tools that are not simple to handle demands that they also acquire some knowledge of the various techniques employed (books, films, television, travel, etc.) and of the different social groups (workers, country dwellers, young people). Moreover, specialized and general training constantly merge into each other (for instance, the history of the cinema cannot be divorced from an account of the content of films).

Work like this requires an institutional framework. In France, it is the practically unanimous opinion that adult education is a mixed or competitive sector in which government activities and those of private bodies are complementary and not mutually exclusive. The government's part is to keep a check on quality, launch and support pilot projects, and encourage and subsidize private initiative. Action by non-governmental bodies, on the other hand, is the answer to the need to allow for all the different shades of opinion in France, stemming from the large number of religious communities, the variety of local conditions and the Frenchman's liking for personal independence. This system, whereby the State supervises, sponsors and finances instead of issuing rules and directives, is considered broadly satisfactory by all concerned.

State-controlled adult education would be a contradiction in terms, since the aim is precisely to teach adults to shoulder their own responsibilities and to become truly 'independent'.

The material and financial position is, however, far less satisfactory, partly for general reasons but mainly owing to the inadequacy of past efforts in this field. The nation, through its responsible leaders, is but slowly awakening to the crucial importance for its future of the problem of continuous adult education. Many existing activities still receive only very meagre assistance from the public authorities, particularly at the local level (but that is part of a much broader problem of the over-centralized machinery of French public life, which makes it anti-democratic and anti-educational). Continuous education in France is primarily a question of funds, but in order to obtain them, the adult education programme now under way must be continued and extended with its present limited budget.

To sum up, French adult education can boast of firm foundations, original ideas and practical achievements in the form of pilot projects aimed at the enrichment of culture through the people and the liberation of the people through culture. There is consciousness of the essential link between civic and social activities, on the one hand, and of the need to create a 'market' for aesthetic and philosophic conceptions on the other.

Many socio-cultural leaders of working-class origin are already being trained, taught new methods and provided with suitable tools for their task. The struggle must continue, however, in order that the general public may at last realize that the problem confronting the adult education movement is of capital importance and in order that the public and private authorities may consequently provide the means of preparing France and the French for their tasks in the twenty-first century.

ADULT EDUCATION IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY¹

HELLMUT BECKER

'A matter of life and death'

THE TASK

As long as 30 years ago, Robert Musil—perhaps the greatest twentieth-century German writer of prose—declared that the time required to digest all the impressions that throng in from the present-day world is as much as any man has to spare, even if he were to do nothing else. All of us are engaged in some form of professional activity. We cannot spare 24 hours a day in which to absorb our impressions of the contemporary world. We all need help in mastering it—help of many different kinds. Our difficulty is due to the fact that our 'traditional' system of education was devised for a firmly jointed society in which the separate social ranks lent their support to the whole. We are now faced with the problem of adjusting our entire educational method to the spiritual and social situation of the times; and we are simultaneously confronted, for the first time, with the absolute necessity of continuing to educate every adult throughout his life, if our social system and our community as a political entity are to remain workable.

Rank and social position have lost their substance today. The 'established order', whether natural or social, is no longer a 'matter of course' for the individual. He must continually add to his knowledge if he is to hold his ground in the world, and the meaning of the simplest event in the smallest village will escape him unless he has learnt something of the world as a whole. What he lacks in direct experience of humankind in general, he must make good by acquired knowledge. One might define the task of adult education in our age by saying that it exists in order to meet the needs of modern man. A few examples will illustrate this:

1. The peasant—or rather, the section of the population which is engaged in agriculture—nowadays works almost twice as long as the factory worker; yet agriculture does not pay. The thoroughgoing cleaning up and rationalization which might change this situation cannot be brought about by laws or administrative measures. It has some prospect of succeeding only if the farmer is enabled to orientate himself effectively in a world governed by laws other than those according to which he has lived hitherto. Other traditional occupations, like those of the manual worker and craftsman, are also encountering specific difficulties, which can be overcome only if those practising them succeed in realizing and effectively coping with the changed nature of their tasks.
2. Young people are very apt to consider that their behaviour, their work and the people around them are not important. Even the modern type of school makes no impression on children, because in many cases the subjects on which they work there have no place in the lives of their parents. These young people's thirst for a sense of 'achievement', unsatisfied at school or in the course of vocational training, and the imagination to which they have been unable to give free rein, come acutely to the surface in their leisure hours. The cells of juvenile prisons are filled with potential seamen, explorers, engineers and so forth, who have taken to crime in an effort to escape from a world in which they feel stifled. There is also the fact that young people, who are in a state of accelerated physical and retarded spiritual development, face problems with which they find it difficult to cope unaided. They need help, because they lack the intellectual and spiritual maturity to put their physical strength to good

1. See also: H. Becker, *Bildung zwischen Plan und Freiheit*, Stuttgart, 1957, pp. 41 et seq. and 54 et seq.; 'Die Volkshochschule heute', in *Kommunalwirtschaft*, 1957, No. 5, p. 175 et seq. *Volkshochschule und Gemeinde*, Dortmund, 1958, p. 7 et seq.

use. This crying need of our young people, which cannot be dismissed with the usual talk about 'young toughs', occasionally leads them into conflict with the surrounding world, or even to crime. It is this same need, however, which brings them voluntarily into adult education. Nearly 40 per cent of the students at the People's Universities of the Federal Republic of Germany are under 21 years of age, and some 50 per cent are under 25.

3. Metaphorically speaking, the present-day family is a fatherless family. The father, absorbed in work which takes him outside the home, is practically negligible as an educational influence. In many families the same can be said of the mother who also goes to work. Despite the change thus produced in the family structure, parents are still faced with the question: 'How are we to bring up our children, who have obviously become more difficult, in the small amount of time at our disposal, and how can we, in addition to this, help them to find their feet in a school which does not reflect present-day conditions?'
4. Like the parents, the teacher is confronted with a new type of child. He is assured on all sides that the methods he has so far adopted are not the right ones. He is urged to take personal decisions about the teaching he gives, though he was selected and trained to reject such responsibility; and his initiative is restricted by the authoritarian constitution of the State school. He is representative of a school which in all essentials derives from the nineteenth century, yet is expected to educate twentieth-century children. In-service training, however necessary, is of little help to him in this respect; what he needs is to be brought continually to grips with the basic spiritual questions of our day, and to have opportunities for exchanging ideas with members of other professions. Discussions between teachers and parents, which are all too rare in ordinary schools, should be particularly fostered in adult education.
5. The man in the street regards our democratic State, just as he did the Third Reich, as something which can hardly be altered. His feelings range from original anger to a growing impression that the leaders will make everything all right in the end. The impulse to take a share of responsibility for the State is something that needs to be developed. The apparently apolitical attitude of the younger generation, and the antipolitical emotions evident in people of all ages, are basically an expression of the human longing to have to take no responsibility for the solution of substantial political problems. Here it should be remembered that, in the progress of political crime, the indifferent mass is no less guilty than the active forces of evil.

Another factor contributing to this 'political' shortcoming is the cleavage between Eastern and Western Germany. The difficulty of thinking on a large scale and working on a small one is a difficulty seldom overcome, either in politics in general or in East-West relations in particular. This embarrassment is especially acute for the civil servant, who, though a modern citizen, finds himself caught up in the traditions of an authoritarian administration. He has to learn that the nation is not the antithesis of the government, and criticism not the antithesis of order.

6. Present-day social conditions make no provision for adequate contacts, and create a state of alienation between man and his activity. The city dweller is becoming increasingly lonely; and country people, for their part, are nowadays almost as much exposed to city influences. Modern civilization is doing appreciably more damage in the villages, which have ceased to be real villages, than in the towns, where spiritual resistance has already had an opportunity to develop. The disappearance of pre-established behaviour patterns is evidenced, for example, in the difficulty experienced by the individual in organizing his leisure time. Such difficulties become a very serious matter where automation and modern technological development in industry result in a considerable increase in leisure periods.
7. Difficulties connected with leisure time are, however, merely a reflection of those encountered during work. The inability to make proper use of leisure goes hand in hand with the faulty organization of working hours. Both these types of difficulty

stem from the condition of modern man, in which 'being' and 'doing' are at odds. This cleavage between 'being' and 'doing' has to be remedied by education both of children and of adults. This is all the more necessary in view of the changed position taken, in modern man's life, by his occupation. That occupation is now in many cases no longer a vocation, as spoken of by Luther, but a variable 'job'; indeed, industrial development calls more and more frequently for changes of training. If changes of employment are not to lead to serious crises, a measure of spiritual direction is required. Furthermore, our social development demands an ever-increasing number of qualified, accomplished persons. It is therefore no longer possible for the secondary school to constitute the sole channel of access to the university; qualified applicants whose talent is first revealed in the course of their professional apprenticeship must also be enabled to enter the universities. We in the Federal Republic are at present in the process of creating a wide range of possibilities for such 'alternative access to education', and setting up special institutions to that end. It will not be possible to use the general adult education facilities, such as the People's Universities, as actual parts of the process of this second access to education, but they will provide a background of general study for it. Even now, hardly anyone will use this alternative access to education without having, at one time or another, attended a People's University. Similarly, the adult education institutions will never attempt to replace the vocational secondary schools; but the People's Universities will doubtless provide a steady supply of courses intended to supplement vocational training and to stimulate or guide those whose vocation is not yet decided.

The seven foregoing examples give only a fractional view of the tasks confronting adult education; but they make it clear that adult education is now, not a luxury of an 'advanced' civilization, but a matter of life and death in the social development of the present-day world.

THE EXECUTION OF THE TASK

Adult education is served, today, by a wide range of enterprises, from public libraries to radio, theatre, film and television; sport, moreover, to a certain extent constitutes adult education, since in modern times it serves to compensate for man's now frustrated need for personal creativity in work. The People's University is one among these various possible forms of adult education. It differs from the others by its positive awareness of its educational task. It thus occupies, in the field of adult education, a central position similar to that occupied by the university in the sphere of scholarship. Whether the work of the People's Universities can serve as a pointer for other adult education facilities will depend largely on the standards which these universities achieve during the next few years.

University education has a comparatively stable framework, owing to the fact that it is designed to prepare the student for his future profession; school education has a similar framework, because of its traditional curriculum. The People's University has no such framework. There is no subject with which, in theory, it cannot deal. From the standpoint of its students, the only condition, in practice, is that its teaching must be comprehensible. The People's University therefore runs a much greater risk than do the schools and universities of offering an exaggerated profusion of subjects. In this respect, popular education has had its growing pains. It has now realized, however, that it must establish 'centres of gravity' and that its programme must be, not encyclopaedic, but merely 'exemplary'. But the People's University cannot base these centres of gravity either on the requirements of professions or on the conversion into a curriculum of educational ideals of the past. Its choice of subjects will be dictated by the difficulties confronting man in present-day society. The Federal Republic has 1,047 People's Universities giving evening courses, 22 giving correspondence courses, and about four thousand extra-mural institutions working in the field of adult education. In

1955, students to the number of 1,280,648 attended a total of 47,743 courses and teacher-pupil study groups. In addition there were the individual institutions of the various People's Universities, attended by approximately five million persons. These figures show the coverage of the adult education organizations, which is greater today than ever before. Attendance according to occupation is, it is interesting to find, approximately equal in the towns and in the country districts—the largest groups in both cases being schoolchildren, apprentices and students, who make up some 30 per cent, and clerical workers and civil servants, who represent about a further 30 per cent. Next come housewives, constituting 12 per cent and workers (excluding agricultural and forestry workers), who make up 11 per cent—the remaining 17 per cent coming from independent craftsmen and tradespeople, agricultural and forestry workers, the professions, the unemployed and so forth. (In considering these statistics, it should be remembered that as a result of the economic development of the Federal Republic many people are described as employees who in earlier times would have been known as workers. The border line between 'workers' and 'clerical workers' is so flexible that statistics cannot give a very accurate idea of the situation.) In the large cities, housewives attending are fewer and workers more numerous. Turning to statistics relating to the choice of subject—and these should be regarded with the greatest caution—one is struck by the growing interest in political themes. Considered from the standpoint of age groups, the People's Universities reveal the surprising fact that 50 per cent of all their millions of members are under 25 years of age, and 85 per cent under 50 years of age. Another important point is that women are, throughout, more numerous than men students, the difference in some cases being considerable. The difficulties encountered by women in their attempt to secure recognition as members with equal rights in the modern community can evidently be solved to a certain extent by adult education.

The People's Universities which give evening courses work on the principle that they have to attract apprenticed or employed persons in their spare time. The institutions providing correspondence courses make their appeal chiefly to young people who, under the special conditions and with the special facilities available in their homes, can follow long courses similar to those provided at evening classes, but with the greater concentration possible for individuals working privately. The correspondence courses are particularly fitted for the limited number who are capable of filling responsible and influential positions in the community and serving as a leaven for the nation as a whole. The subsequent influence of qualified individuals gains particular significance from the fact that, practically speaking, all adults are in need of education but only a few of them can, and will, embark upon adult education. This applies particularly to country districts. Adult education, as a whole, has the twofold duty of making a qualitative selection yet providing help for all who need it. It must not fail to help those who are unable to help themselves and who, left to their own resources, have little capacity for being effective later on. The correspondence courses are best suited to the more intensive aspects of adult education, while the evening classes have to provide for a wider public.

Only about 150 People's Universities in the Federal Republic are under full-time administration. We are making steady efforts to increase the number of full-time posts and to supply, for the big cities, not only full-time directors, but also full-time subject experts and youth organizers, etc. The remaining leaders, especially the great majority of lecturers, do part-time work for remarkably low fees. The German People's Universities receive substantial assistance from the German universities and technical colleges. Many professors and assistant professors give lectures or direct study groups in the People's Universities. But the German People's University is not the same thing as the University Extension Courses characteristic of adult education in England. Unlike the traditional university, the People's University is not dominated by the ideal of a classical education, nor does it have to grapple with the dangers of encyclopaedic perfection.

But, even with its special characteristics and its specific tastes, it could not, in Germany, exist without the help of individual members of the universities.

At the outset, the German People's University was governed by the idea of an extended education for workers. Today, the conception underlying the People's University is (a) that people in all branches of employment need further general education, and (b) that age has its own special difficulties in coping with the modern world, difficulties in coping with the modern world, difficulties which education can help to overcome. The traditional significance of workers' education finds expression in particularly close co-operation between the People's Universities and the German Federation of Trade Unions, and in the 'Work and Life' Association,¹ with the object of helping trade union members to derive the maximum benefit from free adult education.

HOPES AND DANGERS

The increasing importance of adult education adds to the dangers threatening its independence. The People's Universities in the Federal Republic are free agents. Admission to them is unrestricted, and so is the planning of the curriculum. They are subject to no control. It is important that they retain this freedom, and that organized social forces, political parties, religious groups and professional associations do not gain influence over them. Neither should the subsidizing of German People's Universities by the various *Länder* and municipalities be allowed to lead to any formative influence upon their educational work. The German People's Universities are grouped in *Landesverbände* (state groups), and the *Landesverbände* in the *Deutsche Volkshochschulverband* (Union of German People's Universities; in Bonn). They hope that, by working together, they will be better able to defend the freedom of their educational work and to overcome the difficulties involved in the preparation of their curricula.

There is a tendency to think that the modern mass media—radio, film and television—are better equipped than the People's Universities to undertake the task of adult education. If these universities confined themselves to lecture courses, they would reduce themselves, to the level of one of the many instruments for the provision of spoon-fed culture. But the focal point of the People's Universities is the study group, whose members take an active and independent part in its activities. These study groups, and the stimulation of independent activity, distinguish the People's University from all other adult education institutions. On the subject of the People's University curricula, Theodor Heuss once wrote: 'The many-sidedness of the curricula needs this range of colours—which some people find bewildering—in order that it shall be attractive to the various circles.' The emphasis on attractiveness is necessary in order to draw students, in due course, into individual activity within the framework of the study group, which thus becomes, in addition, a school of democracy.

The freedom of adult education means that the People's University cannot, as a whole, embrace any particular religious or political creed; but every religious viewpoint and every political viewpoint not conflicting with the Constitution is, naturally, represented in it. The People's University, as an institution, is neutral. At the same time, however, it recognizes its obligation to 'present' all tendencies. This has occasionally led to controversy with political and religious institutes of education. In a country where several different parties make their contribution to political life, and several religious systems co-exist, the People's University must serve as a forum where all these different views can find expression. It must act as a guide to modern man—not offering him any ready-made recipe, but showing him 'where to look'. It sets no 'model' before its students, but aims to develop in them the adaptability which present times require, solidity in practical work, and that understanding of the world which, today, is essential

1. See 'The role of Arbeit und Leben in German workers' education' by Hans Boulboulé in our Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 124-7.

to all. For this purpose it needs financial support for its work from the Federal Government, the *Länder* and the municipalities; at the same time, it requires the freedom without which education, in our sense of the word, becomes impossible. Just as in the sphere of politics the individual city embodies the tradition of a free democracy, so in the sphere of education the People's University represents the genuinely free democratic trend.

After freedom, the most important question for the future of adult education is that of standards. We hope to find an increasing number of individuals who are prepared to give the people of our day that direct contact with facts, and that enlightenment, which it is the object of adult education to provide. The People's Universities can fulfil these tasks only if they receive increasing support from public funds, without prejudice to their spiritual independence. The modern State, having monopolized financial resources by securing a monopoly of taxation, must finance the 'freedom' of education. Here the People's University, as the chief adult education agency, has equal rights with the school (as the most important institution for the education of children) and with the vocational colleges and the universities (as the principal institutions for vocational training). Modern society demands three, equally favoured, systems of education—children's education, adult education, and training for a profession.

ADULT EDUCATION IN THE SUDAN

MOHAMED OMER AHMED

'To resume the gap between the new generation and the older'

BACKGROUND

The idea of starting adult education in the Sudan originated in the Institute of Education at Bakht er Ruda. Bakht er Ruda is chiefly concerned with the training of elementary and intermediate schoolmasters and the drawing up and reform of syllabuses for both elementary and intermediate schools. The formal education of the majority of the children who go to school stops at the elementary level—after a period of four years—at the very young age of 12, with the result that the children are liable to lose the good things learnt at school, even their knowledge of reading and writing. It was with the objective of obviating or lessening this danger, by creating an enlightened environment for such children, that adult education was originally started in 1944. The aims behind it may be summed up as follows:

1. To reduce the gap between the new generation educated in modern schools and the older generation which had not the advantage of this type of education.
 2. To meet a direct need dictated by the adoption of democratic institutions of government both at local and central levels and the establishment of such organizations as trade unions, political parties and other associations. The efficiency of these organizations must ultimately depend on the sense and knowledge of the people who vote and who are elected to their councils and committees. Sometimes even minimum literacy is a great advantage as it may permit an effective secret ballot, although the civic education given by adult education work is of much more definite value.
 3. To use the possibilities of adult education to stir communities in positive ways.
- In 1944 and the years immediately following, three schemes closely connected with each

other were started in an experimental way in the Institute of Education and later extended to a wider field: (a) a village improvement scheme; (b) the opening of a publications bureau; (c) the opening of boys' clubs.

A fourth one, a literacy campaign, was tried in 1949, and a central library was opened in 1950.

VILLAGE IMPROVEMENT

After an initial experiment in village improvement in a rural area near the Bakht er Ruda Institute of Education on the White Nile in 1944, the Ministry of Education was looking for a field in which to extend its activities. The Gezira Scheme was (most judiciously) chosen in 1948 and work is at present almost confined to it. Before describing the adult education work which is being undertaken in the Gezira, we should give the reader a brief background sketch of the Gezira Scheme itself.

The Gezira Scheme is an irrigated area in the Republic of the Sudan. It covers about one million acres and lies from 30 to 130 miles south of Khartoum along the Blue Nile river. A plan is now in progress to extend the scheme to nearly double its size in four stages, the first of which will come into operation next August. The others will follow, it is hoped, if the financial resources of the country permit, in the three following years. The scheme was started more than thirty years ago as a cotton production project to produce a cash crop for export to support the country's budget. It has since become the backbone of the finances of the country as it provides about half the country's revenue. To start with, the scheme was run on a tripartite partnership basis. The partners were: the State, which provided the capital and running costs of the dam and canal system and compulsorily rented the land from its owners; two British commercial companies, which provided capital for housing, factories, a light railway, land levelling and clearance, paid the supervising staff and acted as commercial managers; and the tenant farmers who were responsible for the agricultural work. Processing after harvest, transport, and marketing were a joint charge on all partners and the profits were divided in the proportions: 40 per cent to the State, 40 per cent to the tenants and 20 per cent to the companies. The tenants, in addition to their share in the cotton profits, had free land and water to grow food and fodder crops which remained their own private property. On the expiration of the companies' concession period in 1950, the scheme became a nationalized enterprise and a national board took over the duties of management from the companies.

The population of the Gezira is about half a million, living in about one thousand villages, varying in size from a few score to 5,000 and dispersed over an area about 120 miles long by 30 miles across at its widest point.

There are at present two adult education teams, one male and one female, working in the Gezira. The male team consists of a senior adult education officer, three resident adult education officers and nine local adult education officers. (The term adult education officer in the Sudan is used to designate a multi-purpose social worker.) The female team consists of a head social welfare officer and 30 social welfare workers. Both the men and the women staff engaged in this work belong to the teaching profession. They are selected from amongst those masters and mistresses who show a desire to take up this sort of work and are given short training courses to prepare them for the new task of dealing with adults.

For the purposes of agricultural administration, the Gezira is divided into 46 units called blocks. A local adult education officer is usually made responsible for two blocks which include some ten to fifteen villages. Owing to the shortage of staff that can be spared by the Ministry of Education for such work, and in order to ensure coverage of the whole area, a plan was made whereby a local adult education officer works in his area for a period of three years after which he leaves for another area or is transferred back to teaching in schools. The whole Gezira area is divided into six groups (a group comprises

from five to nine blocks). When a whole group is covered a more senior resident adult education officer is permanently posted to carry out follow-up work.

The first task of a new officer is to gain the confidence of the people he is trying to serve. His job is the all-round improvement of the villages. His method is to explain things to villagers and at the same time to stimulate them to take the initiative in work which leads to the improvement of their conditions.

In addition to attending village councils and trying to develop in them a foundation for good management, the adult education officer gives evening talks in villages in the open air on various health and social topics, sometimes illustrated by filmstrip projections. Improved furniture and improved housing lay-outs have been designed and are displayed by the adult education officers. Courses are run regularly for a selected number of tenant farmers from a variety of villages at which, in addition to explanations of the set-up of the scheme and its principles, villagers are given simple illustrations of the operation of local and central government, of common diseases and methods of controlling them, and of the advantages of certain social changes. Such courses are usually visited by members of the departmental staff in the area (e.g., the public health officer, the co-operative officer, the schoolmaster and the agricultural officer) who make special contributions to the programme.

The adult education officer also encourages the establishment of social clubs. Although sports—football in particular—have been independently organized by the social development department of the Sudan Gezira Board, the officers play an important part in assisting the organization.

The women's team, since its start on the job in 1949, has covered about 200 villages. Classes are held in villages for selected young women on house-craft, cooking, sewing, child welfare and elementary hygiene. Work amongst women has gained wide popularity in the eyes of the men because of the substantial changes they see in their domestic life.

The Gezira Scheme now devotes a fixed percentage of the profits from cotton to social development. The members of the adult education teams are on the staff of the Ministry of Education and draw their salaries from the Ministry, but they are provided with housing and transport out of the social development fund.

It is very difficult to assess the standard of the men's work objectively. The spreading of ideas and understanding will only take its full effect after a considerable period of time. But the fact that the tenant farmers in other parts of the scheme pressed for the extension of adult education to their groups is evidence in favour of its practical value. One of the factors that contributed to the success of adult education in the Gezira is the fact that the personal relationships between the incoming adult education staff and the agricultural and other staff in the area have started well. Added to that is the fact that the authorities of the Gezira believe that the whole scheme may be jeopardized if the tenant is not enlightened about his position. There were, of course, some failures when certain officers proved to be unsuited for the job and could not get on well with the people and the staff and had to be replaced.

There is still wide scope for the improvement of the techniques of teaching adults in the Gezira—the use of visual aids, for example, in this work has only just begun.

PUBLICATIONS BUREAU

This organization was established in 1946 in order to meet the great need for suitable reading material for those boys and girls whose education ends at an early age. Amongst its other functions it publishes and edits a youth magazine, *El Sibyan*, which now has a fortnightly sale of about 18,000 copies, and a monthly magazine, *El Kubar*, for adults. It is also responsible for the production of all literacy and follow-up booklets.

BOYS' CLUBS

These are primarily for ex-elementary schoolboys to encourage them to continue their education informally and to meet together in an organization which seeks to develop sound qualities of character.

The organization of these clubs is the joint responsibility of the Ministry of Education, which provides the clubs with leaders (usually elementary schoolmasters, who are given a short training course for the purpose) and with games equipment and library books, and the local government councils which provide adequate premises and furniture for the club. They also pay for the maintenance and the current expenditure. Boys who become members are also required to pay nominal subscriptions.

There are at present 12 such clubs in the country.

LITERACY WORK

The first experimental literacy campaign which was conducted in 1949 by the authorities of the Institute of Education in Bakht er Ruda followed mainly the famous Laubach method of 'each one teach one', with certain adaptations to suit local conditions. Special literacy primers in Arabic were prepared. Later on a literacy officer was appointed by the Ministry of Education for each of the six provinces of the country where Arabic is the mother tongue, to be responsible for conducting literacy campaigns in co-operation with local government councils. Many local government councils, after having co-operated with the literacy officer in launching the initial campaign in their area subsequently appointed their own officers to carry on the work.

The work of teaching people to read and write falls into two distinct stages:

1. The campaign stage (2-2½ months). This includes the preparation that precedes the launching of a campaign, e.g., enrolment of illiterates and volunteers, training of volunteers in methods of teaching, etc. Illiterates are either taught singly, which is always the best way if volunteers are available, or in groups of four or five, a method which can also be effective if well managed. This stage always proceeds on a voluntary basis.
2. Follow-up stage. Reading classes are formed for new literates for a period of three to four months during which they are required to read a certain number of booklets. They are also given dictation to provide them with practice in writing. These classes are usually conducted by schoolmasters who are given small grants to carry out this work.

The movement has not yet become a national one and the voluntary element in its organization is very small. The lack of an adequate number of volunteers to teach illiterates particularly in the rural areas where the percentage of illiteracy is greater, is a problem that faces workers in the field. A lot can still be done to remedy the situation, for example by enlisting the aid of schoolboys during vacations and the services of educated citizens to volunteer as a national duty to help their less fortunate illiterate brethren.

LIBRARIES

A central library was opened in 1950 with the primary purpose of lending books to provincial libraries. The central library itself has at present a lending service for subscribers.

Postal services to cater for members in places where there are no branches were introduced in 1953.

CONCLUSION

Other adult education activities include women's literacy and house-craft classes in towns organized both by the educational authorities and on a voluntary basis. The

voluntary activities are run mainly by the Women's Union, which is a young organization formed by the educated girls to work towards the emancipation of women and to help their backward and illiterate sisters who constitute the overwhelming majority of women in the country.

A Sudan Workers' Educational Association has recently been formed. Unesco, the International Labour Office and the International Union of Workers' Educational Associations participated in the efforts that led to its formation.

Adult education activities in the Sudan are still on a very small scale and it may rightly be said that only a beginning has yet been made. There is still wide scope for expansion and improvement. The question of co-ordinating the efforts of various organizations and bodies interested in adult education needs consideration. Another important subject which needs careful thought and urgent attention is the training of social workers of all types. The government is already aware of this need and is studying the matter. The help of competent international organizations will certainly be needed in this respect.

THE 'ROME BELT' EXPERIMENT

GIOVANNI GOZZER¹

GENERAL BACKGROUND

The position of Rome is similar to that of many other towns with rapidly growing populations or industries, and not unlike that of other capital cities; but it also has certain special problems of its own, owing to the constant flux of the population.

The movement is one way only—it takes the form of immigration; there is practically no flow of population out of the city. The immigrants are of three kinds: firstly, working people from other regions, most of them engaged in the service industries, government employees, etc.; secondly, people coming in temporarily or daily from the surrounding districts, the Sabine Hills, Umbria and Latium; thirdly, the so-called clandestine or illegal immigrants. Most of these are from the South and are as a rule backward, illiterate and incapable of earning their living; they settle down in the shack towns round the outskirts of Rome, living as troglodytes or shanty dwellers in what are almost invariably rudimentary shelters, without any social or philanthropic services and lacking any vestiges of sanitation.

There has thus sprung up all round the city a kind of 'belt' whose tentacles reach out into Rome itself, invading those areas not yet included in the town planning system.

This 'tainted outer belt' affords temporary shelter to clandestine immigrants and former 'refugees' whilst they are awaiting the chance to acquire accommodation in the much-coveted workmen's blocks, and permission to reside in the city.

The authorities do all they can to remedy the situation by finding quarters for the inhabitants (some of whom come from the centre of the town, having lost their homes through demolition, expulsion or some other cause) and pulling down these primitive hovels. But the situation is a very difficult one, and in most cases the people living in caves and makeshift shelters or wretched hovels are no sooner housed than their place is taken by other clandestine immigrants awaiting their turn. Thus, this 'outer

1. This article is reprinted with the authorization of the journal *Homo Faber*, published in Rome by Fratelli Palombi.

'belt' acts in practice as a kind of waiting zone, and the people living in it acquire, after a certain period what is in effect the moral right to whatever accommodation is available.

We are not in a position to make a full analysis of the sociological aspects of this phenomenon; our task is merely to examine the human and educational implications of the situation.

In most cases, the people entering Rome after a period of waiting in the 'outer belt' are from rural areas, mostly in the South, in the poorest group economically and with absolutely no source of income; the majority are manual workers, together with a few small farmers who come to the city with the idea of trying their hand as builders' labourers. In other words, the bulk of them are war-time 'refugees'.

Whereas the moral and domestic standards of many of these people are fairly high (indeed it is often only thanks to their family ties that they manage to survive these wretched conditions), their cultural standard is usually deplorable. Many are illiterate or semi-literate; none of them has any vocational education or training; and their sole virtues are their strong family ties and an exceptional adaptability, which often result in crude, primitive forms of association and co-operation.

The situation of those who move into the 'outer belt' from the city proper—for the reasons explained above—is more complicated. This group includes all sorts of undesirable characters, people living by the continual commission of small offences or by the profession of prostitution in its most sordid and degrading forms.

In this environment, young and old, living cheek by jowl in an amazing, disorderly hotch-potch, present a truly extraordinary spectacle; and the immigrants from outside the city adapt themselves and become acclimatized through falling under the influence of those from inside.

There are cases of people who, through outstanding enterprise and thrift, manage gradually to achieve a certain modest economic situation (some even possess cars and have sizeable nest-eggs tucked away); but they become so much accustomed to this kind of life, half-way between an organized society and complete anarchy, that they find it difficult to settle down permanently in the ordered life of the city.

The 'outer belt' therefore has a climate *sui generis*, cut off from the ordinary forms of social and administrative life and, sociologically speaking, presenting certain features typical of a primitive community, quite unlike the more complex forms of the highly developed society living across the way.

FAMILY LESSONS

How can this section of the population be retrieved for a decent cultural and social life? Truancy is not the only problem—indeed, it is rare; the main problem is that of retrieving the adult members of the group, teaching them to read and write, and giving them the rudiments of civic and social training as a prerequisite for acquiring some skill or occupational training.

It is useless to imagine that the adult inhabitants of the 'belt' are going to come of their own accord to regular classes at evening or popular schools; they are reluctant to exchange their haphazard, anarchical way of life for the organized discipline of a school. Hence the only means of reaching these people is through 'family lessons'.

Family lessons are one of the most characteristic activities of the Popular Education Department, and are designed, in cases where psychological or other difficulties prevent illiterates from attending school, to bring education right into the home.

They are arranged in outlying or underdeveloped localities; teachers go into the houses and give lessons to families or individuals in need of fundamental education.

The work of these teachers is not easy; above all, it is not 'academic'. From certain points of view, indeed, their role is closer to that of social workers than that of ordinary school teachers. They begin by everyday human contacts; rendering someone a service,

making a polite gesture, providing information, giving material help or advice, and so eventually arousing people's interest. Once the ice is broken, things become easier, instinctive mistrust is gradually overcome and an atmosphere of confidence is established, to that education can begin.

CONDITIONS IN ROME

The first experiment in winning over the 'outer belt' by family lessons was made last year. Before describing this experiment, we propose to give a brief account of the educational situation in Rome according to the data provided by the 1951 census.

EDUCATIONAL STANDARD OF THE POPULATION OVER 6 YEARS OF AGE (1951 Census)

	<i>MF</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>%MF</i>
Illiterates over 6 years of age	61 065	17 676	4.1
Literates holding no certificate (including pupils in the first, second and third forms)	212 610	84 251	14.2
Holders of elementary school certificate	819 944	377 841	54.9
Holders of lower secondary school certificate	214 552	114 544	14.3
Holders of classical and modern school certificates	43 262	31 118	2.9
Holders of teaching certificates	41 695	6 145	2.8
Holders of technical vocational and art school certificates	43 082	32 369	2.9
Miscellaneous	228	91	0.0
Holders of senior secondary school certificates	128 267	69 723	8.6
Holders of university degrees	58 102	46 674	3.9
Total population aged 6 years and over	1 494 540	710 709	100
Illiterates, 6 to 14 age group	6 055	2 957	2.9
Total population in the 6 to 14 age group	210 117	107 389	

Does the figure of 61,000 illiterates reflect the actual situation, or is the real figure lower or higher? The educational representatives have expressed doubts about this figure; our view is that it is too low, since we know for a fact that large numbers of 'clandestine' immigrants evaded the census. Had they been included they would no doubt have swelled the army of illiterates.

The main preoccupation of the educational authorities was to prove that illiteracy was due not to failure to attend school—a circumstance which they allege is unthinkable in a city like Rome—but to immigration from outside; it is what they call an 'imparted' phenomenon. The statistics showed that the illiterates were indeed to be found among the inhabitants of the 'outer belt', the shack towns, among the hut and cave dwellers attracted to Rome from the remotest parts of the peninsula and the islands by the mirage of work and a regular wage packet.

CONDITIONS FOR THE EXPERIMENT

Such were the conditions in which the Central Department for Popular Education decided, in conjunction with the Supervisor of Education for Rome, to carry out the experiments the results of which are described below.

A special centre was established, with the same staff as that engaged on normal duties; and in December 1956 the Supervisor summoned to his office the school inspectors of the five sectors, the 29 school principals, and the teachers allocated to the areas selected for this difficult and arduous experiment . . . bringing education right into the homes of the illiterate.

During the first stage, the work was to be confined to a ring formed by the inner and outer zones of the city limits and the shack towns, or roughly speaking covering the area of the commune lying outside the city boundaries. It was to cover five school districts.

All the data on the experiment are taken from the report of Inspector Gaetano Marafioti, who acted as the co-ordinator.

The illiterates in the shack towns did not respond to the annual invitation they received to attend the regular courses in the people's schools, either because the irregularity of their position in Rome made them suspicious, and afraid of being sent back to their place of origin, or for the purely emotional reason that they wanted to conceal the fact of their ignorance.

It must be admitted that local conditions were a great impediment and made the tracing of the 5,000 illiterates an arduous task. The Central Statistical Office, which was in a position to provide useful information, entrenched itself behind the obligation to protect official secrets; and the Communal Registry Office had no record of these people because of their irregular status.

An expedient was therefore adopted which, though perhaps not strictly legal, was justified in view of the nature of the work: the pupils of the State school were asked to help, with really surprising results; within a few days these children had given the educational authorities the descriptions and addresses of about 6,000 illiterates.

Separate lists were carefully drawn up for each zone, arranged in groups. These lists were then given to regular teachers, of high competence, who were selected either for their familiarity with the environment in which they would have to work, or for their past experience and proven skill in adult education.

A few days later 130 women teachers were appointed, each being put in charge of a group of about 40 illiterates, composed of men and women aged between 20 and 60. These teachers then began work in this 'unknown Rome', which their spirit of service and self-sacrifice soon succeeded in winning over to literacy.

DETAILS FROM TEACHERS' REPORTS

Among the 130 reports submitted by the teachers after the first month's work, all of them interesting from the social as well as the educational point of view, we have singled out one of the most important.

This teacher, Domenica Torda, describes her work graphically as follows: "The zone allocated to me comprises the group of hovels and huts called "Borghetto Latino", lying parallel to the Via Latina, between the Via Appia Nuova and the Via Appia Antica.

"The population is about a thousand persons, the large majority of them immigrants to Rome from South Italy.

"Most of the huts, built of odds and ends of material, are squalid and filthy, and devoid of all amenities such as water, light, gas or plumbing. There is a small church and a municipal police station which do useful social work and keep order.

"As part of the reclamation scheme already put in hand by the authorities and private initiative "Borghetto Latino" is eventually to be scrapped.

"The number of illiterates in the zone is very large, but practical obstacles and the general shyness of the inhabitants made it extremely difficult to find them. A preliminary survey brought to light two main facts—the lack of space and air in the huts and the promiscuity of the life lived there.

"In the face of this situation, which self-sacrifice and good will alone could not remedy, an agreement was made with the parish priest, who was in sympathy with our work and gave permission to use a room adjoining the church.

"This made it possible to set up a centre and organize courses attended by regular numbers, in addition to which a few lessons were given at home to special cases such

as physically handicapped pupils and women with small children and no one to mind them.

'Most lessons were given in the afternoon, as the majority of students of both sexes have irregular jobs and tend, therefore, to go off to the city in the mornings in search of work.

'When organizing groups, account was taken of family factors, age and experience; and special arrangements were made for those requiring individual attention and special exercises.

'We decided against class teaching, both because the amount of work students were prepared to do varied greatly, and because they were constantly having to change the times of lessons for work reasons.

'The plan adopted is based on the over-all education system. The progress noted during the first few months is astounding; some students are already capable of doing independent exercises, and even writing short, simple essays.

'A point to note is that the students are able to learn to read and write more easily because they are, mentally, already mature.

'Most of the students are delighted at having learned enough to be able to continue reading and writing on their own. A common characteristic of these students is their essentially practical approach to their lessons. Psychologically, the fact of learning to read and write increases their self-confidence and rids them of the sense of inferiority induced by the stigma of illiteracy.

'The practical implications of education are already beginning to be realized.

'The textbooks supplied are helpful. Experience shows that mobile schools and family lessons are an important weapon in the campaign against illiteracy, and satisfy a widespread and legitimate desire.

'The purpose is not merely to introduce new minds to the lamp of education, but to provide citizens with the means of redeeming themselves, and taking their place in modern society.'

CONCLUSIONS

The results of the experiment are extremely interesting and indicate the methods most suitable for use in this particular type of work, which needs, obviously, to be organized on much more flexible and independent lines than ordinary school work.

As the figures quoted above show, the steps taken to trace illiterates were very successful.

The whole problem of the shack towns is, of course, a complex one; we have dealt here only with the problem of illiteracy; a far more difficult and equally important question is that of adult education in the true sense of the term, including psychological preparation for community life, vocational training and learning to live a normal life as a member of society.

This problem was touched on in 1949-50, when the National Society for Poor Relief in Italy (ENDSI) organized a survey, carried out by groups of social workers. The results of that survey were issued in two small cyclostyled pamphlets containing information about the situation in the 'outer belt', with particular reference to living conditions.

Many of the most appalling aspects have, it is true, now been remedied by official action; but much remains to be done. On the other hand, it would be a mistake to imagine that it is merely a case of slum clearance or social assistance. The problem goes far deeper and is far more complicated than that; it concerns the redemption of human beings, one of the fundamental themes running through the whole problem of adult life.

APPRAISAL OF PUBLICATION EFFECTIVENESS: PRE-TESTING AND POST-TESTING¹

SETH J. SPAULDING

Educational books and printed materials are intended to put ideas across to people. To do this, they must be available to the proper people and they must interest these people; they must be read, understood, believed, and in some way influence the inert or overt behaviour of the reader.

One isolated piece of printed material rarely makes any striking change in the behaviour of the public to whom it is addressed. If, however, a book is part of a publishing programme, of which the long-term aims and objectives are clearly stated and applied in its publications, and if these aims and objectives are linked with the needs and interests of the intended audience, the book in question can constitute a small step in the educational ladder.

Such intelligent programme planning demands, however, a widely experienced group of specialist advisers. Technicians in health, agriculture, rural education, for example, are competent to help plan the content of an educational publishing programme and, at the same time, to advise on the needs, interests and abilities of the intended audience.

Such a group of advisers is also able to give advice concerning distribution. A series of publications is nothing more than the paper, ink and wire stitching that goes into it, unless the material reaches the hands of the intended audience. Free distribution schemes are notoriously unsuccessful in most countries, and schemes for the distribution of publications for the new literate through commercial channels are on the whole even less well developed, although market studies have indicated great sales possibilities in many areas. Suggestions from those in some way connected with field work would therefore be extremely valuable.

Although single books rarely have great impact on an audience, a publications programme producing a quantity of mediocre books is equally inadequate. Each book merits careful preparation and if possible should be pre-tested before printing. After it is published and distributed, some appraisal of its effectiveness should be made so as to enable the publisher, the author and the editor to improve future publications.

PRE-PUBLICATION TESTING

There are three basic techniques for testing a publication and its content before it is actually published. The first is to compare the book in its various stages of preparation to lists of criteria that have been drawn up on the basis of reading research and of experience with the audience in question. The second is what Mr. John Bowers of the Unesco Secretariat calls 'topic testing'—i.e. finding out through interviews what the intended audience already knows, feels, thinks and does about the subject dealt with. The third is to actually submit the more or less definitive text to selected members of the intended audience for their reactions.

Criteria Lists

Lists of criteria include requirements as to graded vocabulary, type size, leading, layout, and pictorial illustration, based on past experience and research. We have found, for

1. This paper, based on the author's considerable field experience, provides useful guidance to fundamental educators engaged in both the production and the use of reading materials.—
THE EDITORS.

instance, in preparing materials for rural adult Latin Americans that the amount of information remembered by an individual adult after having read a booklet is inversely proportionate to the total number of ideas it contains. One must not say too much in any one publication if it is for an unsophisticated audience unaccustomed to reading or to mass communication media.

Our studies in Central America have shown that the type of booklet which offers pure advice seems to have less potential interest than those which tell a story constructed to illustrate self-help or community development. Story materials sugar-coat the pill and create a concrete situation into which the reader can project himself, without feeling that he personally is being criticized. Many people will read a story of a village elder and his family who would not bother with a booklet on how to 'improve the community'. Recreational interests in reading usually transcend all others.

Readability of language is a question that is much discussed but a criterion which is frequently not met. Naturally, what we write seems to us easy to read, since if we write it we can also read it. It is very difficult for us to place ourselves in the position of a rural villager who may never have written anything longer than his own name and who probably has read very little. Vocabulary frequency counts are often helpful, since the words that are used most frequently will probably be best known by the reader. A friend you meet often will be more immediately recognizable, of course, than an acquaintance you see very seldom. The same holds true for words.

Unfortunately, inflexional languages like Burmese do not use word units that are easily categorized in constructing frequency counts. Here, then, we must rely on pre-testing our material to see whether the expressions we use are understood by the intended audience.

Sentence construction also affects readability in Germanic and Latin languages. Short sentences, on the average, are easier than long sentences.

A broader rule is that ideas must be organized logically and they must be broken up into easily digestible parts. Sub-heads and paragraphs make it easy for the reader to digest the text, and easy, frequently used words make the going smooth.

A study conducted by the writer several years ago showed that of adults tested in Mexico and Central America, those who read test booklets complete with full-page line drawings remembered 66 per cent more than adults who read the same booklets without drawings. This figure, of course, is an average, and in the case of 3 of the 11 booklets used in the tests, illustrations did not appreciably contribute to idea recall. The reason was, we found, that illustrations, like the text, can sometimes be a poor medium of communication.

Pictorial illustrations must be clear-cut and realistic, and line drawings are much better than drawings which attempt to be photographically realistic (including items which are irrelevant in terms of the basic information that is to be communicated). In other words, illustrations must be designed as carefully as the text, and should include only basic information. Pictorial illustrations are a powerful medium of communication and must be planned, considering carefully what can be said through pictorial illustration and what must be said by means of the printed word.

Colour in pictorial illustrations attracts attention but must be used carefully. Our research in Latin America has shown that one colour, in addition to black, may confuse the reader if used unwisely. One colour should generally be limited to decorative motifs, border designs, and elsewhere where emphasis is desired, rather than in the illustration itself. Colour has the power to attract, but also to detract.

Similarly, with pictorial illustrations as with the printed word, the experience of the viewer must be taken into consideration. Some visual cues would be readily interpreted by city audiences but would be completely misunderstood by a rural audience. This is particularly so when the book is dealing with information that is entirely new to the villager, perhaps on history or on new agricultural techniques.

Format and typography often affect readership and perhaps even comprehension.

Adult beginning readers need large type and a format that helps the eye follow from one block of text to the next in logical order. Leading, or space between the lines, is often as important as the size of type in determining physical readability. Lines that are too long are hard to follow since it is easy for the eye to miss the next line. Good margins and plenty of white space make the material inviting, and if material is not inviting or looks hard to read, it will not be read.

Lists of criteria can be drawn up on the basis of personal experience of such factors as those mentioned above, but they are not a cure-all. They are mechanical devices by which an attempt is made to evaluate the whole by analysing the parts. Although such lists usually help to eliminate obvious blocks to communication, such visible and checkable points do not always provide an indication of the over-all education or communication potential of a piece of printed material. If possible, the use of criteria lists should be supplemented by topic testing and later by reader-reaction tests.

Topic Testing

Undoubtedly, any list of criteria would include that of writing specifically for the prospective audience. For a story which is to put across basic information about cattle disease, we should know what our audience already knows about the subject, what they do with sick cattle, what they think about veterinarians, and so on. With this information, we will be able to write a book that is educationally much more effective.

But how do we acquire this information? The list states that we should have it, not where to get it. The answer, of course, is that we should periodically get out of our editorial offices and talk over with actual members of the desired audience the subjects we plan to write about.

During the November 1957 Unesco seminar on reading materials, held in Rangoon, participants travelled to a small village some twenty miles north of Rangoon to discuss with villagers cattle disease and several ideas for stories on the subject. At the outset, many participants felt that the trip would be valueless since most of them had had considerable experience in rural work and felt that they knew village thinking. The information they gleaned, however, as to the local methods of treatment used by villagers, superstitions held by villagers in matters relating to disease, and even information as to the maximum number of cows kept, was found to be extremely useful.

They agreed that the stories later developed at the seminar were much more related to the actual village scene in Burma than they would have been had topic testing not been a part of the programme.

Several years ago, Unesco's Group Training Scheme for Fundamental Education at Mysore, India, developed topic testing into a controlled research technique. Individuals in villages were chosen at random and interviewed individually and in group discussions. The villagers were encouraged to express themselves freely on the subject or topic under discussion and careful notes were taken of what they had to say. Key points to be discussed had been agreed upon and carefully noted beforehand by the educators and authors who were conducting the test. Transcripts of these interviews and discussions were extremely useful later in developing educational booklets.

In addition to finding what the villagers know, think, do and feel about a topic before the manuscript is actually written, topic testing helps an author to learn the colloquial vocabulary and village usage which lend greater realism to the story. Experience everywhere has shown that authors and educators assume that they know more about the villagers than is actually the case.

Topic testing need not be time consuming. A half-day spent once a month discussing materials with villagers can do much towards keeping the content of the book or of an entire publishing programme vital, interesting, and adapted to the lives of the intended readers.

Reader-Reaction Tests

Assuming that we have explored our topic with members of the prospective audience and have a good criteria list against which to judge our copy, it is still worth while to test the manuscript in a mimeographed or cyclostyled version before it is sent to the printer. Copies of the material may be given to persons considered to be representative of the audience and their opinion sought. This is a simple procedure to carry out, but the results may lack objectivity (how many people can really state their reasons for liking or disliking a book?) A better procedure is to ask representative members of the audience to read the booklet and subsequently recount what is in it. If the responses and the ideas remembered by the respondents are noted and compared with the actual contents of the booklet, it becomes clear where emphasis is lacking.

A check on vocabulary usage may be made by having respondents read the material aloud. Words or expressions which cause hesitation should be noted for further comprehension testing and possibly more common or appropriate words may be substituted.

A technique occasionally used is to ask the reader's opinion according to a scale of judgement submitted with the material to be tested, ranging from 'I would enjoy very much reading this material in my spare time', down to 'I do not find this material very interesting and would not ordinarily read it'. Although one such test would mean little, an adequate sample can show a significant trend.

An effective test of titles and cover format can be made by setting out on a table a dummy of the cover along with a group of attractive pamphlets, then asking representative members of your audience to choose the one or two pamphlets on the table that they would like to read if they had time. If your pamphlet is not among those chosen by a majority of the test subjects, you should revise your cover.

These, of course, are only random techniques for pre-testing materials. Two things, above all, should be remembered: (a) most people, once convinced of your sincerity, are happy to co-operate in a pre-test situation; and (b) one should not try to obtain too much information through any one test technique. Select one aspect of the publication you wish to test (cover design, vocabulary, effectiveness in getting people to remember several important ideas, etc.) and plan your test situation accordingly.

POST-PUBLICATION TESTING AND APPRAISAL

Pre-testing can never accurately predict how effective the publication will be when finally distributed to the mass audience. Commercial publishers often find this to be so when they publish large editions of a manuscript that has received the enthusiastic comments of editors and editorial readers, only to discover that the public does not take to it. Similarly, in the educational publishing field, we must realize that our pre-test techniques can never entirely duplicate conditions of final distribution and that the real test of a publication must come after it has been published.

Library Usage

Surprising and sometimes unpleasant information is often forthcoming as a result of studies of the effectiveness of our publications. The Burma Translation Society has until recently felt that the distribution of a science series to reading rooms and libraries throughout the country would inevitably make the country science-minded, thus bringing the people closer to Burma's future place in an industrialized world. Accordingly, hundreds of thousands of books on science subjects have been distributed throughout Burma to reading rooms and libraries sponsored by the Information Ministry and the Mass Education Council.

The society early in 1955, however, decided that a survey of reading rooms and libraries should be made to see what books were actually read and what books were not.

The co-operation of the mass education organizers in over eighty villages throughout Burma was enlisted, and in addition to answering questions as to their observations of villagers' reading habits, the organizers listed the 10 most popular books and the 10 least popular books according to loan figures of the village libraries. It was found that 4 out of 10 of the least popular books were among the science books of the society, and the other 6 were on subjects of a more general character, such as *Burmese Economic Life*, *UN Organization*, *World History*, and so on. The most popular choices were religious books, fiction and self-help books, including one on *How to Win Friends and Influence People* and another entitled *Guide for Youths*, a publication giving practical guidance to village young people for the enjoyment of life.

These results do not indicate that science publications have no use. Such publications are used quite successfully in the schools as textbooks and as a supplement to textbooks, but 'science' or 'history' or the 'UN' as abstract entities do not interest the village adult audience. Accordingly, the society has ceased distributing books of this nature to villagers and is now experimenting with booklets that will make villagers science-minded by describing aspects of science which affect the villager in his local environment. Rather than presenting a few scientific theorems and some academic knowledge, the society's new booklets and materials for rural use are stressing the use of the scientific method as a way of thinking. As regards history and Burmese economics, only aspects of these subjects which have some significance for the villager will be tested.

Library figures, of course, are only one test of a book's effectiveness. The fact that a book in a library is read or not read is only an indication as to whether or not the library users expose themselves to the information in the book. Admittedly, this is significant for if a person does not look at the book, it will never be effective. However, the fact that library users read a book does not necessarily mean that non-library users (probably over 98 per cent of the population in most Asian countries) will read it.

Readership Surveys

Of what other devices, then, can a post-test or appraisal consist? A readership survey of magazines which are sold largely on a subscription basis, is easy to carry out by interviewing subscribers. We know that subscribers are exposed to the magazine, but we may wish to go a step further to find out what in the magazine is read and, perhaps even further, what is remembered.

Here, a carefully structured interview must be used so as to check the answers of the respondents. Obviously many respondents will want to make the interviewer feel that the magazine is worth while and will indicate that they have read more than they really have. It is also important to know whether the articles were read carefully or whether they were merely noticed. On the basis of such information, the editorial staff of the magazine can judge the relative effectiveness in putting ideas across to the subscriber of various types of articles in a particular issue. Generalizations can be made on the basis of the type of articles represented and this information used in planning future editions.

A less controlled but nevertheless useful method of post-testing periodical literature is to include franked postcard questionnaires in each copy, to be returned postage-paid by readers. Definite trends are often noticeable in opinions expressed by readers as to likes and dislikes.

Artificially structured Test Situation in Latin America

When a publication is not sold on a subscription basis, a post-test of readership can be structured artificially. This was done by the Pan American Union several years ago when it was proposed to post-test the first 12 of a series of fundamental education booklets for Latin America. Certain results of this test have already been mentioned.

Small editions of these books had been printed on the basis of pre-test evaluation, and a quantitative measure of the effectiveness of the booklets was required in order to plan future editions of each booklet. Since they were to be distributed throughout several countries, for the most part through government channels, it would be difficult to interview people who received the booklets through the regular programme. Six locations were chosen, three in Costa Rica and three in Mexico, these two countries representing conditions duplicated throughout other Latin American countries. Co-operation was enlisted through the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Agriculture in the two countries and through various international organizations.

In each test area, village leaders assembled groups of adults who were requested to read the booklets in special test groups and to state what they remembered and how interesting the booklets were to them. From among teachers and agricultural extension workers, observers were trained to evaluate group behaviour so that an indication could be obtained of interest shown by overt observable action during the meetings of the reading groups. Individual tests were carried out to discover whether the average individual got more out of a book with pictorial illustrations than he did from one without illustrations, and what viewers saw in each illustration. At the conclusion of the entire programme teachers and extension workers were asked to give their opinions.

Several methods were used in analysing the data. The information resulting from observation was classified and used to find out which books had best held the interest of a group and which apparently drew no attention. Information obtained by individual tests was analysed by comparing what was remembered by readers of the book with the main ideas the author was trying to put across. Interpretations of the illustrations were compared with what the artist was trying to say. If the ideas remembered by the readers were not in accordance with the important ideas intended by the author or artist, it was considered that the entire communication could be improved.

This type of research, of course, intensifies the testing and renders results more generally useful than if testing is carried out on an informal basis. If test procedures are standardized, results are comparable wherever the testing is done, and generalizations may be reached which can be applied to future publishing, without it being necessary to retest each point each time a book is produced.

Structured Readership Study in Burma

The type of study described in Costa Rica and Mexico, of course, is intended to discover just what information is put across to people through the text and the pictorial illustrations of a series of booklets. A project recently completed by the Burma Translation Society had a somewhat different purpose. The Burma Translation Society project proposed to test the possible effectiveness of short illustrated books in winning reader interest and actually being read.

The books to be tested were distributed, not on a subscription basis but through the government to reading rooms and libraries. Therefore, a structured test situation had to be set up whereby booklets would be distributed to the group that would be interviewed. Mass education trainees were instructed in interview techniques and after briefing distributed one copy of a booklet on *Resources of Burma* to five villages near the Mass Education Council training centre. The booklets were distributed to households as a gift, without further information. The interviewers returned three days later to inquire what had happened to the booklet, who had read it, where it was now, whether the respondent remembered the title and the content, and so on.

On the basis of this survey, it was found that such booklets have considerable communication potential if they are actually made available to the public. In the majority of cases, the booklet was read by one or more of the members of the family and in many cases it was loaned to others to read. Although illiterates were rarely interviewed

in the sample, there is an indication that even those who cannot read are influenced by this type of booklet, since literate members of the household read aloud to others in the family.

An important finding which resulted from this study was that, although the booklets were distributed free of charge, in most cases they were read and were kept in a safe place for future use. This may indicate that free materials are considered valuable if they are attractive and appear to be worth while. We too often accept the idea that we must charge something for books if they are to be effective and considered valuable. It may be that a person who buys a book would consider the same book quite valuable if it were given to him free of charge. The problem is to produce books that are interesting, easy to read and which say something significant in the frame of reference of the prospective audience.

Testing a Series

A more recent test by the society, supervised by Dr. David Manning White research adviser, and Bo Ba Ko, research director, combined several structured techniques. Twelve titles of the society's highly illustrated *People's Handbook* story series were placed in stacks in a test room in several villages. Villagers were invited in one by one and asked to choose the booklet they would like to take home to read. A trained observer noted the action of each villager as he examined the display of booklets before selecting his copy. The position of the different titles was changed from group to group in order to see if placement affected choice.

As each villager left the test room he was interviewed to see whether he had a reason for choosing the book he had selected. His name was also taken and pertinent details of his educational background noted.

The test team returned the following day to each village to re-interview the people who had chosen books the previous day. They were asked to tell what they did with the book when they took it home, who they read it to, if anyone, and what they remembered of the content. Other questions were designed to encourage the villager to criticize or otherwise evaluate the booklet.

In conjunction with this organized testing, copies of the books were left on display with small village shops. Without exception during this test project, villages were used where books had never been on sale before. Also without exception, even the smallest shopkeepers were able to sell one or two dozen booklets or more at 25 and 50 pyas (\$0.05 and \$0.10, U.S.) in a 24-hour period.

This test project consisted of several carefully planned techniques administered simultaneously. At the time of writing, the analysis of the results has not been completed, since the villages used ranged from Central Burma to the extreme northern portion of Burma. It is safe to say, however, that villagers choose booklets both in terms of what they think is an attractive cover and also in terms of what they consider to be worth-while content. Although Burmese villagers are not economically able to compete with the mass audience in many Western countries, they are quite willing to spend the equivalent of 5 or 10 U.S. cents for an interesting and attractive book. Small shopkeepers are amazed at the quantity of books they can sell in one day. And those who purchased or were given books almost without exception carefully read them and either passed them on to someone else to read, or read them to someone else. In addition to the specific information obtained in this research project, its value in putting BTS staff into direct contact with the people who read books and the dealers who sell them was immeasurable.

ORGANIZING, ADMINISTERING, AND INTERPRETING FIELD STUDIES

In describing testing of individual publications, we have mentioned both informal, easy to administer pre- and post-tests, and more detailed and formal field evaluation.

Although informal testing, using available respondents, is often valuable, really serious field evaluation or surveying requires careful planning and some understanding of study control. Basic references on research method and statistics are listed in the bibliography for further reading. The following might be mentioned here as considerations of special significance in materials testing.

Interviewing. Experience in many countries has shown that interviews in rural areas do yield results. If the interview does not touch upon political issues, and is conducted through the offices of someone known in the village, villagers are only too willing to co-operate.

The interview questionnaire. Questionnaires, of course, must be planned in terms of the purpose of the study. Aims and objectives should be listed before the questionnaire is drawn up, so that the questions will yield the desired information. The reaction of the interviewee must be kept in mind; questions should be simple, direct, and answerable. Thought should be given to how the data obtained will be analysed and reported on. If possible, the questionnaire should be pre-tested to eliminate confusing questions.

Training the interviewer. Usually agricultural extension workers, fundamental education organizers, public health assistants, etc., are willing to volunteer as interviewers. If such untrained interviewers are used, at least one lengthy session is needed to explain the purpose of the study and to show how the interview is to be conducted. Interviewers should be instructed to: (a) establish rapport before beginning; (b) carefully follow the wording of the questions; (c) carefully note exact responses, no matter how inappropriate or erroneous; (d) avoid showing a negative reaction to responses; (e) avoid leading questions and comments; and (f) generally maintain a friendly attitude.

Sampling. We have found a random sampling of households in a village (every second or fourth or n th house) to be satisfactory in selecting people for tests. We have also found considerable agreement among people in villages of approximately the same age, sex and occupation. Of course, results are relevant to the people tested, and their characteristics must be clearly reported. Although materials testing is not as complex as public opinion surveying, careful selection of the sample is recommended.

Number of people to be tested. The size of the sample needed before results can be said to be valid and reliable varies according to the type of study undertaken and the sample used. In materials testing we are interested in general trends, however, and small numbers of individuals are sometimes sufficient if trends are marked and there is considerable agreement among the interviewees. We have found it more important to test several geographic areas than to interview large numbers of people. One village may show a particular trend which will be counterbalanced if several other villages are surveyed.

Classifying behaviour and analysing data. In order to analyse the results of testing, behaviour must be classified. Rather than reporting the number of people who own zero, one, two, three, four (*ad infinitum*) books, we report only the number of people who own zero books, the number who own one to five books, and those who own six or more.

Similarly, we often classify less tangible behaviour. Reaction while reading can be: (a) very relaxed; (b) fairly relaxed; (c) somewhat tense; (d) very tense. Better yet, a scale can be used on the questionnaire, ranging from very relaxed (zero) to very tense (100). The observer notes his evaluation on the scale.

In analysing data, we try to find trends and relationships. We may wish to compare

the data we have collected from different kinds of people, their reactions to or comprehension of different books; their responses to different questions. In doing this, we must construct a tabulation sheet according to the information we wish to compare, as in the figure below.

Although few of us are statisticians, a familiarity with statistical principles is helpful in judging the validity and reliability of our data. Especially valuable are measures which help us judge what margin of error we may expect in applying our results to a broader situation. Many studies also require methods of statistical comparison between one set of figures and another (correlation coefficients). Some of these simple procedures can be understood and applied after a few hours' study of basic references in the bibliography.

SAMPLE OF TABULATION SHEET FOR NOTING NUMBER OF BOOKS READ IN PAST YEAR; ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP

Age group	Number of books read				
	0	1-4	5-8	9-12	13 or more
6-12 years					
13-18 years					
19-30 years					
31-55 years					
56 years and above					

The final report. The final report of any structured testing project, or any interview survey, should give a brief review of the project from the time it was conceived until the writing of the final report. Sections should be subheaded, typical subheads to include the following: aims and objectives of the study; assumptions or hypotheses to be tested; testing (or interview) procedure; background of respondents; limitations of the study; analysis of the results; recommendations; further study needed.

No study report will exactly follow the above outline, but such an outline points out the information which is usually significant for understating the implications of the study.

SUMMARY

Evaluation of educational materials is a type of social research. The more closely social research procedures are followed, the more useful will be the evaluation results.

Evaluation based on informal discussions with members of the prospective audience is the first step in an evaluation programme. Such informal studies, however, are chiefly valuable only to the person who carries out the procedure for he alone can interpret them. A more organized study, on the other hand, builds up a body of information which can be shared; conclusions and principles which are valid in more than one situation and in more than one geographical area; results that can be re-tested by others.

For an important materials programme I would suggest that an evaluation unit, not necessarily a large one, is essential. A well-trained and enthusiastic director, with one assistant and a clerical helper, can carry out any procedure mentioned in this paper. He will, of course, have to enlist the co-operation of organizations who can offer field workers, but such field personnel are asked to devote only a few hours at any one time and official co-operation is easy to secure.

The evaluation unit must win the respect and co-operation of the administrators

and editorial staff of the programme. Beginning with studies such as those mentioned here, such a unit can progress to more elaborate communication studies. It can carry out surveys of select community areas to see how educational programmes can best be planned. The unit can act as an 'intelligence' office of the organization, assembling statistics on book publishing, on possible markets, analyses of book sales, and so on. The Burma Translation Society's Research Division has under way a number of projects which demand the keen analysis of a research worker but do not entail field testing. Basic word list studies are one example.

The true criterion of the success of an educational programme, of course, is the amount of desirable change in the 'target' audience that has been effected. Through careful appraisal of our work we can reach more definite conclusions about the part our educational materials may play in bringing about such change.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- CRONBACH, Lee J., *et al.* *Text materials on modern education*. Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois Press, 1955. A comprehensive study designed to lay the pattern for future research on text materials—their preparation, production and use. The theoretical content is for the most part applicable to the preparation of book materials for new literates.
- FESTINGER, LEON; KATZ, Daniel. *Research methods in the behavioral sciences*. New York, Dryden Press, 1953. Explains simply yet completely many of the techniques and principles outlined in the second section of this paper. Includes sections on research settings, procedures for sampling, methods of data collection, the analysis of data, and application of research findings.
- HENRY, Nelson B., ed. (CLIFT, David H. Yearbook Chairman). *Adult reading*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press (*Fifty-fifth yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II), 1956. Leading American specialists in education through printed materials discuss the subject of adult reading. Chapters include: 'What do adults read?', 'How well do adults read?', 'Why adults read', 'Developing readable materials', and so on. Much information is applicable to the preparation and use of printed materials in any country (see also the *Fifty-fourth yearbook of the Society*, Part II, *Mass Media and Education*).
- MONROE, Walter S. *Encyclopaedia of educational research*. New York, Macmillan, 1950. A monumental work, 1,520 pages long, including a 'critical synthesis and interpretation of reported educational research up to January, 1948'. As regards research methods, includes sections on coding, factor analysis, public opinion research, questionnaires, rating methods, reliability, statistical inference, etc. Also includes extensive sections on reading (I. Sociology of reading; II. Physiology and psychology of reading; III. Teaching of reading). Libraries (public and school). A new edition is to be ready within a year.
- SCHRAMM, Wilbur, ed. *The process and effects of mass communication*. Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois Press, 1954. This book is a collection of background materials prepared for use in training research and evaluation workers. Has sub-sections on attention audiences, getting the meaning understood, 100 titles for further reading, etc.
- SPEAR, Mary Eleanor. *Charting statistics*. McGraw-Hill, 1952. A book on 'practical graphic presentation of statistical data'. Shows how to use charts and graphs so that they present honest and readily understood comparisons and trends. Useful as a guide in designing charts to make reports more lively and to present findings graphically.
- SPAULDING, Seth J. 'Research on pictorial illustration', *Audio-visual communication review* (National Education Association, Washington, D.C.), vol. 3, no. 1 (Winter, 1955), pp. 35-45. A general view of research on the use of pictorial illustrations in printed material.
- . 'Communication potential of pictorial illustrations', *Audio-visual communication review* (National Education Association, Washington, D.C.), vol. 4, no. 1 (Winter, 1956), pp. 31-46. A report of a study carried out in Mexico and Central America to discover the types of illustrations best suited for adult beginning readers.
- . 'Research on communication through printed materials', *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (University Estate, Rangoon), vol. 39 (December, 1956), pp. 127-58. A summary of what we know about constructing effective educational materials for rural audiences.

SPAULDING, SETH J. ; WHITE, David Manning, eds. *Books for the new audience*. Rangoon, Union of Burma Government Printing Press, 1958. A report of the Burma Committee of the Unesco Regional Seminar on the Production of Books for the New Audience, October-November 1957, at which the Union of Burma and the Burma Translation Society acted as hosts. Contains working papers of the seminar, with editors' notes on seminar activities. Sections include material on publishing, writing, editing, testing, layout and design, copy preparation and book manufacturing.

WHITE, David Manning; LEVINE, Seymour. *Elementary statistics for journalists*. New York, Macmillan, 1954. This little booklet summarizes all the beginning research worker need know about statistics. Little is taken for granted, and the reader is introduced to the elementary and yet most necessary statistical concepts and methods. (For more complete coverage, also useful for the beginner in statistical methodology, see Henry E. Garrett, *Statistics in psychology and education*, New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1953; and E. F. Linquist. *Statistical analysis in educational research*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1940.)

NOTES AND RECORDS

ARAB STATES FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION CENTRE (ASFEC)

Sixty-five students from Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen, joined ASFEC in October 1957 for an 18 months' course. Sixty-one students from the above countries graduated in March 1958.

The Centre organized a short course of three months' duration (October-December 1957) for 18 students from Egypt, Greece, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Syria and Tunisia on the production of audio-visual aids materials. A second short course for the same length of time is taking place now at the centre for another 18 students from Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Tunisia in adult literacy. A third short course on the participation of women in community development is being planned to take place in October 1958.

LATIN AMERICAN FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION CENTRE (CREFAL)

Regular courses. The seventh generation of students which began work at Crefal in April 1957 has been living since January 1958 in the villages within the area of influence of the centre and will finish its training at the end of September. The next group of students for the regular course will arrive at Crefal in January 1959.

Short courses. On 30 June 1958, 25 literacy workers from 14 Latin American countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama and Uruguay) who had taken part in the short course in literacy, finished their training and returned to their countries.

A short course on local leadership in community development was announced at the beginning of April and 12 Latin American countries were offered fellowships for candidates who had been organizing, directing or supervising national programmes of community development. This course, organized in co-operation with the United Nations, was to last six weeks as from 14 July 1958.

Inter-Agency Committee for Crefal. From 9 to 13 June 1958 the third meeting of the Inter-Agency Committee for Crefal was held in Patzcuaro. The committee visited a number of field projects, classes and other activities of the centre and studied the work of Crefal since the last meeting and in particular the degree to which it has integrated the recommendations contained in the report of the second meeting into its programme of study, field work and production of materials.

The Unesco/OAS Committee for Fundamental Education which has met in the past immediately after the Inter-Agency Committee was postponed this time until August at the request of the Organization of American States (OAS).

LITERATURE FOR FIELD WORKERS

Unesco

Leaders of workers' education groups will find many of the following recently produced Unesco publications of special interest as background and exhibition materials for lecture and study groups:

Revised, illustrated edition of the general leaflet describing Unesco and its programme:

Unesco, What it is, What it does, How it works.

A detailed account of the development of and the problems being attacked under the major project on arid lands: *Unesco's Programme for Arid Zones.*

A series of eight photo-posters on the same major project: *New Life for Arid Lands.*

A wall-sheet photo-story on this work in the desert: *Man Challenges the Desert.*

Another photo-poster series portraying major aspects of Unesco's general programme: *Building for the Future.*

Workers' education leaders should also take special note of the forthcoming appearance of a kit of information materials entitled 'Unesco and Labour' which is now in production. The kit will contain detailed sections on those parts of Unesco's programme of direct interest to labour groups, reference lists and various ILO materials.

With regard to information materials for use in the organization of commemorative programmes in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 10 December 1958, labour

organizations and other NGOs will soon receive a circular letter listing the materials available from Unesco and the United Nations and containing suggestions for participation in this year's anniversary celebrations. A series of photo posters and a photo feature on the subject of human rights are among the Unesco materials that will be available.

Health Education

The International Union for Health Education of the Public announces the appearance of two publications of interest to workers in fundamental education and community development. The first is the *Proceedings* of the union's third conference, held in Rome in 1956. The work is in two volumes, illustrated, and is published in English and French editions; it may be obtained by ordering from the Secretary-General, International Union for Health Education of the Public, 92, rue Saint-Denis, Paris-1^{er} (price 2,000 French francs plus 245 francs postage, or U.S. \$5.50, postage included). The second publication announced by the union is a new illustrated quarterly, *International Journal of Health Education*, the first issue of which appeared in January 1958 (annual subscription: U.S. \$3; Sw.francs 12; £1 sterling; or the equivalent in other national currencies). The journal is published in English and French editions. Orders and correspondence may be addressed to the editor, 3, rue Viollier, Geneva, Switzerland, or to the International Union for Health Education of the Public, at the address given above.

Work Camp Methods and Techniques

A lively account of an experiment in voluntary work camp activities is given in a recent publication¹ of the Indian Organizing Committee for Training Projects in Work Camp Methods and Techniques in South-East Asia. The book describes how a Pakistani medical doctor, a Dutch veterinary surgeon, a Philippine dietician, a Japanese dentist, an American educationalist and 30 other voluntary work camp leaders of various professions, chiefly from South-East Asia, under the leadership of an Indian anthropologist, worked

together with some of the 120 villagers of Kodiapalaya whom they assisted with the building of a community centre and the construction of soakage pits and road repairs. In addition to four hours of manual work a day, which helped the trainees to become acquainted with the villagers at their own level in this village near Kengeri in South India, there were educational and recreational activities with the villagers and a programme of discussions and lectures closely related to the village activities of the group.

Trainees from India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaya, Nepal, Pakistan, Thailand, and a few Westerners found themselves involved in a variety of activities such as: leading a debate on women's rights; teaching village women the elements of needlework; repairing a bridge partly washed away by the monsoon floods; organizing games and sports with team members or a *mela* with village men and youths; getting rid of bed bugs; introducing simple health precautions in the village homes and surroundings; planning and preparing balanced meals for an international camp community; introducing simple improvements at no extra cost in the local village diet; organizing a baby show or a dental inspection day in the village; discussing with the villagers the accident of a cow which fell into the unprotected well and how to prevent such accidents; or participating in the *panchayat* (village council meeting).

In 1957, over one hundred thousand volunteers participated in voluntary work camps in South-East Asia. (A chart in the publication shows the development of work camps in South-East Asia from 1952 to 1957.)

This book will provide a store of information to those who wish to use the work camp method in their own youth, student or social service group. It will also be of interest to community development planners and UN experts wishing to encourage the participation of youth in community development and fundamental education in order to ascertain how youth groups can be associated with this work so as to provide a link between the expert and the villager. Furthermore, it will be of interest to governments which, like the government of India, see in the youth of the country enthusiastic voluntary present and future associates in a nation-wide drive for social education and community development.

Race Relations

There is no internationally recognized definition of race relations and it is difficult therefore to ascertain in many countries which scientific works have to be consulted

1. Indian Organizing Committee for Training Projects in Work Camp Methods and Techniques in South-East Asia. *Training Project in Work Camp Methods and Techniques for South-East Asia, Kengeri (Bangalore), 1956*. New Delhi, The Committee, c/o Unesco Science Co-operation Office for South Asia, 1957. 77 pp., illus. (\$2; 700 fr. in France).

to obtain a picture of what, in one or other of these countries, is studied in this context. For this reason Unesco decided to devote issue no. 9 of its *Reports and Papers in the Social Sciences* to an inventory of documentation published up to December 1956. The documentation, compiled by Jean Viet, is presented in three chapters: first a selective bibliography covering the period January 1953—the date at which the American *Inventory of Research in Racial and Cultural Relations* published by the University of Chicago ceased to appear—until December 1956; second, a list of periodicals dealing exclusively with the study of race relations, together with a list of periodicals devoting some of their issues or articles to this problem; third, an international directory of institutions which specialize in the scientific study of race relations.

Automation and Society

For the first time, the *International Social Science Bulletin* has devoted an issue to the much discussed theme of the social consequences of automation (Vol. X, No. 1). It contains an introduction by Messrs. Crozier and G. Friedmann on this entirely new method of tackling production problems, followed by articles on 'The Structure of Employment and Automation', 'Automation and Industrial Relations', 'Automation as a Challenge to Management', 'Technological and Economic Problems of Automation in the U.S.S.R.', and on 'Translating Machines'. These articles are followed by a review on 'Current Research into the Social Effects of Automation' and the 'Proceedings of the Carnegie Study Group on the Basic Principles of Automation', held at Geneva in 1957.

PERMANENT ADULT SCHOOLS IN INDIA

The Union Ministry of Education and Scientific Research of the Government of India has sponsored a scheme for establishing 'permanent adult schools' in the country through the Research, Training and Production Centre, Jamia Millia, New Delhi. These schools will enable adults to acquire an attainment level equivalent to that of pupils completing the primary course, i.e. Standard IV, and at the same time will be designed to suit the adult mind and adult needs. At the end of the course there will be a public examination and certificates will be awarded to the students who qualify. The certificate will be considered as equivalent to a primary pass. In this overall approach to the education of adults, the scheme makes its departure from the usual practice of literacy campaigns.

The adult school curriculum will have the characteristics of most primary schools curricula, with special emphasis on reading, writing and arithmetic and on social studies and general science. The focus in the curriculum will be upon what is of immediate significance for the improvement of the adult mind and upon the development of habits and skills as integral parts of the daily life of the adult as a socially creative person.

The adult schools programme is to be carried out in four steps. The development of the syllabus from the curriculum is to constitute the first stage.

During the second stage the Research, Training and Production Centre at Jamia Millia is to set up four regional research units, in different linguistic regions with the active co-operation of voluntary agencies connected with adult education work, and to seek the help of other voluntary agencies to act as co-operating agencies to experiment with the 'blue-print' of the adult schools in a number of experimental classes.

The voluntary agencies which have accepted to act as regional units are: the Bombay City Social Education Committee (for Gujarati and Marathi); the Bengal Mass Education Society, Calcutta (for Bengali); the Mysore State Adult Education Council, Mysore (for Kannada and Telugu); and the P.S.G. School of Social Work, Coimbatore (for Tamil). The co-operating agencies are the Literacy House, Lucknow, U.P., and the Social Education Association, Andhra Pradesh, Himayatnagar, Hyderabad.

This experimentation is to be entrusted to voluntary adult education agencies because it is felt that such organizations enjoy more freedom of experimentation and also have more flexibility of administration. The Research, Training and Production Centre is to train the heads of the regional research units. During their period of training, the blue-print of the adult schools, a grade-by-grade syllabus and a teacher's guide will be prepared and textbooks and teaching aids selected. Soon after their training, the regional heads will return to their agencies and help them to set up a few experimental classes to test the syllabus and the entire blue-print of the proposed schools, worked out during their period of training. No special textbooks will be prepared for the experimental classes, at this stage, but suitable textbooks and supplementary reading materials will be selected from existing textbooks and reading materials.

As the experiment progresses, the Research, Training and Production Centre, the regional

research units and the co-operating agencies will administer achievement tests, to be worked out by the RTP Centre, administer them to the students completing each grade, keep records of the methods of teaching followed in the classes, of difficulties faced, of the strong and the weak points of the textbooks and other aids used, and request the education departments of the states to hold a public examination at the end of Grade IV and award certificates to successful candidates. This constitutes the third stage.

It has been assumed that a normal adult will take about 24 months to attain the primary achievement level. The experimental classes will therefore be held for a continuous period of 24 months at the end of which the entire plan is to be evaluated. In the light of the findings the scheme of establishing permanent adult schools in the country will be given its final shape and a series of graded textbooks prepared. This will constitute the fourth stage of the programme.

The centre will then submit the final experimental scheme for establishing the adult schools throughout the country to the Government of India, which will then consider the possibility of incorporating it into the regular educational structure of the country, by legislation, if necessary.

On the basis of the research and studies undertaken in the above four stages, the centre will also work out priorities and the financial implications of establishing permanent adult schools, possibly at the beginning of the third Five-Year Plan period.

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL AS A MEANS OF FURTHERING ADULT EDUCATION

Study tours and temporary wage-earning employment in a foreign country are among the most effective forms of international education for adults and the demand for them, particularly among workers, is steadily increasing. Since 1952 Unesco has been actively engaged in the promotion of both these types of adult education, with the aim of encouraging manual and non-manual workers to profit from increased contact with the people of other countries and to learn something of their outlook and cultural traditions.

Workers' Study Tours

In 1952, a study tour scheme for workers was initiated in Europe, for which Unesco enlisted the collaboration of the major workers' organizations (International Co-operative Alliance, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, International Federation of Agricultural Producers, International Fede-

ration of Christian Trade Unions, International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations, International Federation of Workers' Travel Associations, World Federation of Trade Unions). Between 1952 and 1958, approximately 310 groups comprising about 6,600 workers from 21 European countries have participated in Unesco-sponsored study tours to other European countries. The scheme takes into account the conditions which must govern any work of this kind for adult wage-earners: (a) the duration of the tour must correspond to the ordinary period of holidays with pay—i.e. one to three weeks; (b) most participants will not be familiar with a language other than their own; (c) a link which is especially important where no common language exists can be created through meeting people of other nations who do the same job; (d) the best way of getting to know people and of gaining some understanding of their outlook is through first-hand experience of important aspects of national life—industry, agriculture, religion, education, culture, and family life.

Under the Unesco scheme each group is invited to choose its own country and subject of study, on the understanding that each programme must contain something of all the above elements. Since the Unesco scheme is based on the co-operation of the international organizations concerned with workers' education, the national groups taking part already have a strong organizational link with other countries. Each group will usually, therefore, select for its host a kindred group in the country to be visited.

Great importance is attached to adequate planning of the study tour, the preparation of a suitable study programme, and the most effective use of the experience gained through various follow-up activities.

An important feature of this Unesco activity is its promotional aspect. In the first place, apart from the Unesco financial contribution, which amounts to only 30 per cent of the total expenditure involved in a study tour abroad, it encourages the contribution of additional funds from employers and the creation of savings schemes by the workers themselves. Secondly, the international contacts made possible through Unesco tend to encourage new groups to organize similar study tours.

Unesco itself has been co-operating in the organization of national meetings of workers who have previously taken part in Unesco study tours, arranged with the aim of developing the conception of educational travel abroad. Up to the present, two such meetings have been held—one early in 1957 in Copen-

hagen, with an attendance of 300 persons, another in February 1958 in Oslo with about 200 persons.

Encouraged by the experience of the European scheme, Unesco initiated similar programmes in Asia and Latin America in 1955. Because of the great distances involved, the groups are smaller than in Europe (usually five persons) and the study tours are generally of about a month's duration. Since the beginning of the scheme, groups of workers from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Haiti, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay have made study tours in other Latin American countries; groups from Ceylon, China, India, Japan, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand have visited other Asian countries. In several cases, as in the European scheme, visits have been reciprocal, as for instance in the case of a number of Japanese groups who, having visited India, welcomed their Indian hosts to Japan later in the year.

The reports received on the tours have proved that in the short time spent abroad the workers gained a good insight into the life and customs of the countries visited.

Longer-Term Exchange Scheme for European Workers

Since 1955, Unesco has been operating a small pilot project to enable manual and non-manual workers in its European Member States to become acquainted with the people, language and customs of another European country by working there at their own trades for from 3 to 12 months. The scheme is run with the help of a number of international workers' organizations which, through their national affiliates, present applications to Unesco and obtain suitable temporary employment and labour permits abroad for approved candidates. Unesco pays for the inter-country travel and the worker maintains himself while abroad on his wages. Workers from 10 countries and from many trades have already taken part. To quote a few examples, Norwegian and Swedish building workers have worked in the United Kingdom, German bakers in Sweden, a German brewer in Denmark, a Swedish glassblower in Germany, an Austrian metalworker in Norway, British shoe workers in Sweden, Swiss radio-telegraphists in Sweden, Danish and Dutch agricultural workers in Switzerland and the United Kingdom. There has been one very successful group exchange between eight Swiss and four Swedish shop assistants.

Most of the workers while abroad participate in cultural activities and workers' educational

activities (usually by attending classes organized by workers' educational associations); many of them take part in local sports.

On their return to their home countries, they submit to Unesco reports on their experiences. In these reports, they often comment on differences and similarities between life at home and abroad, working conditions, harvesting methods, etc., but they are unanimous in their appreciation of the opportunity they have been given of getting to know the people of another country by living among them.

Favourable reports have also come in from employers who co-operate in the scheme by accepting workers from abroad for several months in their factories, shops, farms, etc.

'Workers Abroad'

Side by side with this programme, Unesco's publication *Workers Abroad* gives information on existing exchange possibilities for workers. Volume I lists study tours, summer schools and scholarships, opportunities provided for workers, and includes a section prepared by the International Labour Office on the international movement of trainees; Volume II describes the operation of the Unesco study tour scheme in Europe; Volume III (published in 1957) describes Unesco's longer-term exchange scheme, and includes an up-to-date survey prepared by the ILO on exchange possibilities for trainees.

THE PART PLAYED BY YOUTH MOVEMENTS IN FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION IN CAMBODIA

As already pointed out in a previous article,¹ the fundamental education authorities in Cambodia rely largely on the co-operation of the young and there has been a proliferation of youth activities in this field in recent months. Moreover, the young people themselves, through their organizations, are engaging more and more in activities designed to further the country's economic and social development through education.

Awareness of the need for training leaders in a country which has but lately attained full independence and for inculcating a sense of social responsibility has been particularly evident in recent efforts to organize youth movements with a combination of political, educational and social aims.

As elsewhere, to attract and retain the allegiance of young people—and particularly

1. *Fundamental and Adult Education Bulletin*, Vol. X (1958), No. 2, pp. 62-5.

students—to a youth organization, they must be presented with a focal point of real interest and a programme of serious work which, besides being fully in keeping with national traditions, imparts to those traditions a dynamic and practical significance. In order to achieve these objectives, a new movement—The Jeunesse Socialiste Royale Khmère (Khmer Royal Socialist Youth Movement)—has recently been launched. It is in line with national policy and is a potential force in the national life, as is shown by its aims. These are: to uphold the country's basic beliefs and institutions—the nation, religion and the monarchy; to defend the underprivileged sections of the population; 'to acquire a better knowledge and understanding of the various social classes, and particularly of rural communities'; to foster a taste for every form of culture including work with the hands, and to develop a civic sense.

The movement enjoys the patronage of T.M. The King and Queen. Its president is the ex-King, Prince Norodom Sihanuk, who is regarded as the symbol of Cambodia's unity and independence and who forcefully proclaimed the rights of his people, and, more especially, the peasants, as the personification of the country's economic and moral strength. The nucleus of the movement is formed by the Jeunesse de S.M. la Reine (H.M. the Queen's Youth Group) which organized a large gathering at Phnom Penh in November 1957 attended by thousands of boys and girls from every province, who reaffirmed their faith in the movement's aims. Other important meetings of members of the movement have taken place recently and educational activities for the benefit of the underprivileged sections of the population have been planned.

If these aims are pursued to good effect and if the young engage in tasks of practical utility in line with the foregoing principles, the Khmer Royal Socialist Youth Movement may render great service to the country, especially if it lends a helping hand to the young in rural areas who have no organized youth movements of their own and lead a pretty hard and monotonous life in their isolated villages, but are nevertheless good citizens, loyal to the country's traditional institutions. And this may be brought about the more easily, given unity of action between youth movements and the appropriate technical and educational services, such as the fundamental education service, which has given particular attention to youth problems and took part in the preparation of the new movement's charter.

A committee representing these services and movements would be in a better position to study the question and consider plans for action. It is an interesting point that the recent visit of a regional representative of the World Assembly of Youth (WAY), who discussed with qualified experts the possibility of setting up a national youth council or committee, should have occurred just when the problems of co-ordination and combined action for the achievement of common objectives are receiving very close attention. Further the possibility of securing the presence of representatives of the Khmer Royal Socialist Youth Movement and of the fundamental education services at the World Conference of WAY, which is to be held shortly in New Delhi and will have special meetings on fundamental education problems, demonstrates the interest taken by the young of Cambodia in the aims of educational and social co-operation.

— M. TABELLINI

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Mr. Richard Hoggart is Senior Staff Tutor at the Department of Adult Education, University of Hull (Great Britain).

Mr. Paul Lengrand is Head of the Adult Education Division, Department of Education (Unesco).

Mr. E. M. Hutchinson is Secretary of the National Institute of Adult Education (England and Wales).

Mr. Joseph Rovani is Vice-President of the movement *Peuple et Culture* (France).

Dr. Hellmut Becker is legal adviser to numerous education and cultural organizations and was elected President of the Deutsche Volkshochschulverband in 1956.

Mr. Mohamed Omer Ahmed is Social Development Officer for the Gezira Board (Sudan). Former Chief Adult Education Officer in the Sudanese Ministry of Education.

Professor Giovanni Gozzer is head of the Ufficio Centri Didattici, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione (Italy).

Mr. Seth J. Spaulding is senior Ford Foundation adviser for the Burma Translation Society.

CONTENTS

Editorial	141
Workers' education in Israel, by S. Shachar.	142
The liquidation of illiteracy in the Rumanian People's Republic.	146
The future of adult education, by Robert Peers.	151
Training book illustrators in South Asia, by Jan Thomaes.	163
The literacy campaign in Peru.	167
Whither adult education in India?, by Surendra Balupuri	171
The workers' education centre at Bierville, by R. Lebescond	174
The family of man, by Martin S. Dworkin.	177

Opinions expressed in signed articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of Unesco.

Permission is granted for quotation or reproduction from the contents of this *Bulletin* provided acknowledgement is made and a copy of the book or journal is sent to Unesco.

Correspondence arising from this *Bulletin* should be addressed to: The Director-General, Unesco, Place de Fontenoy, Paris-7^e, and marked: Attention: Education Clearing House.

Any of the distributors listed will be pleased to accept subscriptions; rates in currency other than those below will be supplied on application to the distributor in the country concerned. When notifying change of address please enclose last wrapper or envelope.